

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN COMMUNICATION AND COMMUNITY:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDY OF A RESIDENTIAL SUPPORT FACILITY
FOR LATINOS WITH HIV/AIDS

by

Brad Crownover

A Dissertation submitted to the Graduate School-New Brunswick

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

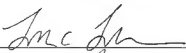



Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in Communication, Information, and Library Studies

written under the direction of

Linda C. Lederman

and approved by

New Brunswick, New Jersey

January, 2005

UMI Number: 3160298

Copyright 2005 by
Crownover, Brad

All rights reserved.

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI Microform 3160298

Copyright 2005 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN COMMUNICATION AND COMMUNITY: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDY OF A RESIDENTIAL SUPPORT FACILITY FOR LATINOS WITH HIV/AIDS

by BRAD CROWNOVER

Dissertation Director:

Linda C. Lederman

Using ethnography of communication, this study explored connections between communication and community within a predominately Latino group living with HIV/AIDS in a residential support facility.

In-depth investigation of this particular case revealed rich data in relation to connections between communication and community. Data was gathered through ethnographic case study approaches, which were progressively focused throughout a two and one-half year period of data collection. Research methods used in data collection involved the following five qualitative techniques: participant observation, interviewing, identification and interviewing of key informants, review of archival information and documentation about the case, and the recording of fieldnotes.

In addition to looking more broadly at connections between communication and community, this study explored common cultural experience as a key factor in

©2005

Brad Crownover

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

understanding communication as it related to community or a sense of community within the context of the particular group studied. In addition, the study generated insights into ways in which media use served to foster community or a sense of community within the particular social context.

Key findings in the study revealed that cultural experience was the commonality that made most fragile the possibilities for establishing community or a sense of community. It was discovered that the media use, more often than not, became a way to separate rather than connect people in the particular health context studied.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In this dissertation, I write a great deal about a sense of connection among people. Through this, I have come to a deeper appreciation of the beauty involved in the ways and reasons why people become and stay connected. I was extremely fortunate to be connected to some truly wonderful people throughout the writing of this dissertation. It is to them I now turn to thank.

Linda C. Lederman. I cannot envision working with someone better than you as a committee chair. You were the perfect mix of challenge and support. You pointed me to new intellectual pathways that were exciting and compelling to traverse and you always had a compass at hand to help me stay oriented. I have deep admiration for you as a scholar, an artist, a mentor, and a friend. Thank you.

Linda Steiner. I am so happy that I walked into your office a few years back and asked if I could do an independent study with you. Since then, you have guided me to fine scholarship and thinking in the fields of communication and media studies. From day one, you have asked me thought-provoking questions about my work and you have given careful attention to providing feedback on my writing. I am consistently impressed by your insights into social life and culture and your gifted ability to write about them. Thank you.

Itzhak Yanovitzky. Thank you for all you did on the committee, beginning with the qualifying exams through the end. I have enormous respect for your scholarship and abilities as a researcher.

Cathy S. Greenblat. I could not have imagined this process without you. It was your work on aging and Alzheimer's disease that brought into focus for me the

value of doing research that revealed those stories about people that could add important insights into care-giving practices. We shall celebrate someday on that balcony of yours in Nice!

The next group of people I am thanking are friends of mine who were boundless sources of support. Peter Naccarato. Thank you for all that you do and your willingness to talk about and take a look at different sections of the dissertation. I will remember with a smile the dissertation "ambushes"...sometimes a dinner is not just a dinner!

To Beth Weinstein, Michael Schuessler, Mark Beauregard, Fredy Cáliz, Miguel Ramon, and Anastacia Kurylo, thank you for your friendship, support, and listening ears.

My family. Thank you, mom and dad. You have always been right by my side and have been a caring refuge when I wanted and/or needed a break. Thank you with love.

I have always basked in the pride of my grandmothers. Thank you, Grandma Esther for reading an early draft of the dissertation proposal (a task I wouldn't wish on any grandmother....but you asked!) and asking an important question: "Where's your voice?" To Grandma Doris, I must say that our many trips to Bingo paid off. I was able to use what I knew as a research tool. Now, may the luck be ours once again!

Holly Near. You said something that stuck with me. In the performance workshop I took with you, we discussed the possibility of me writing about some of your political work in Central America. In a direct and thoughtful manner, you

suggested instead that I consider telling a story that was important to tell now. I took your advice and now turn my attention to the story at hand.

I especially give thanks to the voices that make up the underlying story here. There would not be this story if people had not trusted me to witness their daily struggles, joys, fears, insecurities, and interactions. I have done my best to remain true to your lives and experiences. I want to thank the staff at Casa Albergues for allowing me access to the research site and trusting that I would be respectful and caring. To everyone at Casa Albergues, I extend my sincere thanks.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
PROLOGUE.....	xi
CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND, RATIONALE, AND PROBLEM	
STATEMENT.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Focus of the Study.....	7
The Research Site.....	13
Ethnography of Communication and	
Introduction to Key Literature.....	14
Social Support.....	16
Research Questions.....	20
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	21
Introduction.....	21
Community.....	22
Communication.....	31
Ethnography of Communication.....	40
Media Use in Everyday Life.....	47
Chapter Summation.....	53

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY.....	55
Introduction: Using Qualitative Research.....	55
An Ethnographic Approach in a Natural Setting.....	56
Overall Vantage Point for Viewing the Case.....	57
First Contact with Casa Albergues.....	58
History, Structure, and Purpose of Casa Albergues.....	60
The Residents at Casa Albergues.....	62
The Staff at Casa Albergues.....	65
Description of the Office Space.....	67
Description of the Residential Facility.....	68
The New Physical Configuration.....	70
Preliminary Investigative Activities.....	72
Formal Research at Casa Albergues.....	73
Approaches Taken for Understanding the Case	
and Investigative Categories.....	75
Participant Observation.....	76
Fieldnotes.....	84
Interviewing.....	85
Key Informants.....	87
Collection of Archival Information.....	88
Breakdown of Where Data Informed	
Investigative Categories.....	90

	Data Analysis	91
	Analysis of Fieldnote Data.....	92
	Analysis of Interview Data.	94
	Analysis of Archival Data.....	96
CHAPTER FOUR	RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	98
	Introduction.....	98
	A Sense of Connection vs. A Sense of Disconnect.....	99
	Common Areas at Casa Albergues.....	100
	Dining Room as a Place to Eat and Meet.	100
	Dining Room as a Place to Party.	102
	A Party! Can I Wear My Dress?.....	105
	Individual Identity vs. Group Identity.....	112
	Seeing Others Through Eduardo.....	112
	Seeing Others Through Silvio.....	116
	Seeing Others Through Angel.	121
	Residents Making Their Own Drag Show	124
	Dining Room as a Place to "Check-In"	126
	Dining Room as a Place to Play Games: Bungo' ..	127
	Residents' Autonomy vs. Staff Control.....	132
	End-of-the-Month House Meeting(s).....	134
	TV Lounge: Who Gets the Remote?.....	138
	Television and Music Behind Closed Doors.....	141
	Implications for Research Questions.	147

CHAPTER FIVE	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND FUTURE	
	DIRECTIONS.....	155
	Limitations ..	155
	Future Directions.	157
EPILOGUE		162
APPENDIX A.....		166
APPENDIX B		169
APPENDIX C		170
BIBLIOGRAPHY.. ..		171
CURRICULUM VITA.....		186

PROLOGUE

¡Camarada, te doy la mano!
Te doy mi amor más precioso que el dinero,
Me entrego ti antes que el sermoneo o a la ley,
¿Te entregarás a mí? ¿vendrás a viajar conmigo?
¿Nos uniremos mientras vivamos?

Camarado, I gave you my hand!
I give you my love more precious than money,
I give you myself before preaching or law,
Will you give me yourself? will you come travel with me?
Shall we stick by each other as long as we live?

Excerpt from "Song of the Open Road," *Leaves of Grass*

Walt Whitman

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND, RATIONALE, AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

Introduction

Communication scholars have long been interested in the ways in which people come together, create community, and, within that community, establish ways of sharing for them what has meaning and significance. As early as 1916, Dewey wrote

There is more than a verbal tie between the words common, community, and communication. Men live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common, and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common. (p. 5)

As understandings of community progressed, the boundaries of what constituted community have required re-imaginings. In 1916, certainly Dewey was using the phrase "live in a community" quite literally. The possibility for finding community was limited to where one lived and/or where one could reasonably travel. A transmission view of communication (Carey, 1989) took into account the interconnectedness of how communication between people changed as transportation pathways (e.g., railways and roads) provided new ways for people to connect and/or stay connected to one another. A transmission view of communication was later expanded to incorporate the transportation of communication across electronic channels (e.g., telegram, radio, and the Internet). Carey (1989) summed up the transmission view of communication: "Communication is the process whereby

messages are transmitted and distributed in space for the control of distance and people" (Carey, 1989, p. 15)

Perhaps looking for a basis from which to understand motivations for the transmission of communication, Carey (1989) reasoned that there is an underlying order of things that matter to people and what matters can be seen in the "projection of community ideals and their embodiment in material forms" (p. 19). Carey discussed material forms such as art, architecture, news stories, and speech patterns, as part of a symbolic order representative of a given social process. Carey incorporated these ideas into a ritual view of communication and wrote: "A ritual view of communication is directed not toward the extension of messages in space but toward the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting of information but the representation of shared beliefs" (p. 18). Carey proceeded to argue that under a ritual view of communication lies "the sacred ceremony that draws persons together in fellowship and commonality" (p. 18). Combining the transmission and ritual views of communication, community could be explored as a desire by people to find ways to interact with others, distance notwithstanding, and as a daily reconfirmation of who one is and what matters for him or her in relation to others.

Along these lines, interest in community has expanded to include communities of sentiment (Steiner, 1983). Communities of sentiment are those communities whose membership is based less on proximity and more on what individual members have in common in spatially limited and delimited circumstances. One community that can be characterized in such a way is a community that forms around a health issue. Often, the commonality of health issue,

becomes the ground upon which people come together. Since the 1930's and the formation of Alcoholics Anonymous (Thomas & Seibold, 1996), there has been a burgeoning of communities of people with a common illness that creates bonds for its members despite differences that cut across economic, educational, racial, and other sociocultural strata. HIV/AIDS is among those illnesses that have created spatially limited and/or delimited circumstances where people connect.

Often, the circumstance where people with HIV/AIDS meet is influenced, in part, by the stigma associated with the disease (Leary & Schreindorfer, 1998). Leary and Schreindorfer said, "People are stigmatized when they are viewed as possessing characteristics that constitute a basis for avoiding or excluding them" (p. 15). More specifically, I understand stigma as rooted in 'differences' and a stigmatized person or group is subject to and/or is "linked to others' pity, fear, disgust and disapproval of this difference, whether that difference is one of personality, physical appearance, illness and disability, age, gender or sexuality" (Mason, Carlisle, Watkins, & Whitehead, 2001, p. 2).

In his discussions of stigma, Goffman (1963) made a point I see as particularly relevant to current discussions involving people suffering with HIV/AIDS. He said, "where stigmas are very visible or intrusive, or are transmissible along family lines, then the resulting instabilities in interaction can have a very pervasive effect upon those accorded the stigmatized role" (Goffman, 1963, p. 138). Often, people with HIV/AIDS are *known* precisely because of the visible effects that AIDS eventually takes on their bodies. The disease affects and intrudes into emotional states and perceptions of self, often contributing to breakdowns in

communication, which, in turn, can create a sense of hopelessness among those suffering from HIV/AIDS (Yep, Reece, & Negrón, 2003).

Perhaps because of stigma, one could argue that people with HIV/AIDS are particularly in need of having a sense of connection to others for a variety of reasons. For one, stigma in and of itself can be an isolating thing. In the early history of the disease when people thought it could be transmitted by any kind of touching, people with HIV/AIDS were often shunned and even ousted from their communities. The case of Ryan White (Brandt, 1988), for example, filled the newspapers when he was not permitted to go to school after contracting HIV. Second, friends and loved ones may shy away from those with HIV/AIDS, rejecting or limiting contact with them. During these earlier years of the epidemic, Sontag (1989) wrote: "To get AIDS is precisely to be revealed, in the majority of cases so far, as a member of a certain "risk group," a community of pariahs. The illness flushes out an identity that might have remained hidden from neighbors, job-mates, family, friends" (pp. 112-113).

Here, I want to suggest that while stigma associated with the disease could perhaps be lessening for a few groups in contemporary society (e.g., especially for those who have access to better medicines and can thus "pass" (Goffman, 1963) as healthy for longer periods of time), there remains a general sense, especially in more rural settings, that people with HIV/AIDS should be avoided or at least approached with caution (Preston et al., 2004). As a consequence, it is not surprising that people with HIV/AIDS may find themselves drawn to others who suffer from the same disease, both in order to compensate for the loss of friends, romantic partners, family, co-workers, and others who often rejected them out of fear of the disease and/or

blame about its origins, and also to satisfy the human need for social contact and belonging.

When this happens, the person with HIV/AIDS is put in the position of having a limited number of options related to his/her social systems of support. Perhaps at least some of the choice about with whom a person with HIV/AIDS interacts is based around the shared commonality of his or her health crisis. In other words, there are those with HIV/AIDS who find themselves in interaction with others who they share little in common beyond their disease. This is not an entirely a dire situation. In fact, one potentially positive aspect of this could be the opportunity for a person with HIV/AIDS to connect with others in a similar health circumstance and work through the health crisis collectively. But unless there are other commonalities, it is hard to know whether the common bond of the disease is enough to create intimacy and a sense of collectiveness and belonging. It is certainly possible that with the absence of additional common ties, a person living with HIV/AIDS could feel isolated even within a group of others suffering from the illness, a group in which he or she thought would offer a measure of comfort or stability.

Because of the multiple possibilities in terms of forming (or not) social and support bonds that are potentially associated with people suffering from HIV/AIDS, they have thus offered communication scholars interested in health issues and conceptions of community a population to study to learn more about communication, health, and community. Adelman and Frey (1997) are among the first scholars to systematically study HIV/AIDS in group situations. They looked at the ways people living with HIV/AIDS created, sustained, negotiated, and transformed community

within the context of daily life. The particular group Adelman and Frey studied lived together in a residential support facility for those with HIV AIDS. Bonaventure House. It is helpful to say a few things about Bonaventure House now as it relates to residents' demographics, so as to provide a reference point for discussions I presently have about demographics in a similar kind of residential support facility.

Bonaventure House opened its doors in 1989. For the first few years, Bonaventure House served predominately Caucasian, homosexual males. By 1993, it had begun to serve both men and women (although the proportion of women to men was small about 1:10) and saw dramatic increases in the diversity of residents by race, especially as it related to African Americans (the largest increase in house residents) and Latinos (the second largest increase in house residents).

The theoretical framework Adelman and Frey (1997) used in their study enlisted Geertz's (1973) metaphor for culture by discussing community as a "web" spun of space, identity, emotional connection, interdependence, common symbols, and mutual influence" (p. 5). Adelman and Frey said "Community is both created and sustained by everyday patterns of human interaction (spinning the web) that take on shared meanings among the members of a particular group" (p. 5). They argued, as would I, that communication is not a variable of community, rather "community itself is best regarded as a phenomenon that emerges from communication" (p. 5). To be clear, I understand communication as "a symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired, and transformed" (Carey, 1989, p. 23). I regard community as defined by a set of common characteristics shared by a group of people

whose identity is articulated by the character of its commonalities (Cohen, 1985, Mattern, 1998).

Focus of the Study

These perspectives on communication and community and the work by Adelman and Frey (1997) led me to consider the value of an ethnographic approach to explore other characteristics of those with HIV AIDS, perhaps, specific demographic factors, for what they could tell me about communication, health, and community. More specifically, I considered how a common cultural experience would matter and/or intersect with issues related to health, communication, community, and/or a sense of community. This led to my decision to create a study in which I could explore how common cultural experience might influence the ways in which communication and community matter, if at all, to people suffering from HIV AIDS. This decision was further solidified when I met a group of mostly Latino men living in a residential support facility designed for Latinos suffering from HIV AIDS.

There is general agreement among scholars of Latino culture (e.g., Diaz, 1998, Marin & Marin, 1991) that, while differences exist within the culture (e.g., differences in countries of origin, distinctions in the kinds of relationships held with the U.S. in regard to immigration status, and particularities of languages/dialects), as a whole Latino culture can be at least partly understood through certain experiences and values shared by most Latinos. (a) Young people are raised with a distinct understanding of appropriate sex roles. Where boys are encouraged to prove their masculinity through sexual prowess and risk-taking (i.e., developing machismo), girls

learn to be self-sacrificing and obedient and to acquiesce to their fathers, male peers, and future husbands (i.e., developing *marianismo*) (Raffaelli & Suarez-Al-Azab, 1998), (b) The life-long and intense involvement of family (i.e., parents, siblings, and extended relatives) and the influence of the Catholic Church cut across differences in nationalities and socioeconomic status (Díaz, 1998), and (c) Spanish language becomes a common ground for the sharing of culture as expressed through things like songs, jokes, and sayings (Marín & Marín, 1991).

By both looking at these broader commonalities and considering how they framed issues of diversity embedded within the context of a small group of Latinos, I was able to come to deeper understandings of what it means to be Latino and to have HIV/AIDS in a particular social context. Whereas Adelman and Frey's (1997) study was ultimately about a fairly diverse group of people, 90% of those that lived in the residential facility I studied were of Latino descent, and the overwhelming majority of this group was Latino men.

In these early discussions about my study, I am placing in the foreground what I learned from the Latino men in the particular social context I studied. This is not to say that I didn't seriously consider the role of women in the group. Indeed, some of the data reported in Chapter Four involves discussions of the women. This point is reflective of the case study approach I took in doing my research. I understand case study as the in-depth investigation of a unique, bounded system and its particularities (Stake, 2000). "A case study is both a process of inquiry about the case and the product of that inquiry" (Stake, 2000, p. 436). These perspectives detailed by Stake led me to develop processes of inquiry, which were designed to reveal the

particularities of the case. The product of these inquiries supported reporting on those aspects of the case that, through analysis, emerged as integral to understanding its overall nature. For example, two of the women I spoke with during my final months at the research site could not speak Spanish. As a result, the women found it difficult to fit in at a care-giving facility that was largely designed for Spanish speaking people. People could live in the facility who did not speak Spanish, but the responsibility was on them to adjust, or not, to this particular circumstance. While this, and other kinds of situations involving the small number of women in the house, provided perspective on the overall nature of the case and added insights into connections between communication and community, ultimately, time in the field and data analysis revealed that the best data rested in the stories of the Latino men at the research site.

In the time since Adelman and Frey (1997) completed their study (i.e., mid-nineties), Latinos have grown to become the largest racial/ethnic group living in the U.S. (i.e., 13% of the population) (Anonymous, 2004) and represent a total of 20% of persons living with HIV/AIDS in the U.S. These statistics accounted for all Latinos living in the U.S., regardless of immigration or citizenship status and were reported by the Sex Information and Education Council of the U.S. (SIECUS). This same group reported that 80% of the HIV/AIDS cases are men (within the 20% of the total U.S. population), but that Latina women are a rapidly growing share of these cases. Yet, while Latinos with HIV/AIDS have a significant representation in the general population, they are considered among other underrepresented groups with regard to what is *not* known about their unique healthcare needs (e.g., Greene & Serovich,

1998, Yep. Reece, & Negrón, 2003) Related to this, the first recommendation of the SIECUS report dealt with the need to address issues of access to prevention, care, and treatment services for Latinos living with HIV/AIDS in the U.S., regardless of immigration or citizen status. More specifically, as it relates to my study, the report reinforced the need to create culturally competent care that took into account the joint experience of being Latino and suffering from HIV/AIDS

The issue of immigration or citizenship status within the Latino population I studied was one aspect I did not set out to explore as integral to my study. I made this choice for the following reasons. (a) I saw that within the group of people I studied many were fearful of talking about their immigration status. As a result, I chose not to jeopardize my role within the group by being perceived as overly curious about the issue. In other words, I did not want people to avoid speaking to me out of fear that I would raise the issue of their immigration status. I understood that, for many of them, any discussions about it were seen as threatening to whatever foothold they had established in the U.S., and (b) It wasn't until almost the end of my time in the field that the phrase "undocumented immigrants" was used by staff to describe a portion of the population served at the research site as well as to indicate the kind of person they were seeking in future new residents. I saw this shift in how the staff spoke about the population as evidence of the shifting dynamics of the research site, which also reflected how care for Latinos with HIV/AIDS in the U.S., both documented and undocumented, is changing. Perhaps a new area of investigation was opened for future study at the research site. By the staff initializing discussion about an increased focus on services for undocumented Latino immigrants with HIV/AIDS, it

conceivably opened the door to a new line of questioning, which I had determined was previously unavailable and too risk laden.

In the case of Latino men living in a shared residence with HIV AIDS, I saw that the commonalities of being Latino men and having HIV AIDS were greatly influenced by stigma. Stigma, as perceived by self and through others (Goffman, 1963), I saw as directly related to broader issues in Latino culture having to do with what it means to be a man (Díaz, 1998). Díaz identified three key messages that are passed along to Latino men. (a) masculinity is the essence of maleness and is about being strong, fearless, courageous and protective; (b) not all men are masculine, therefore masculinity must be proven, and (c) homosexuals are false or "failed" men. These issues are integral to later discussions about the case.

In my case study, I also set out to explore how different kinds of media use in everyday life functioned to create or impede community and/or a sense of community. I came to be interested in this area of investigation as I increasingly saw different kinds of media (e.g., television, music, and radio) as embedded aspects of daily life at the research site, in both private and common area settings. The private areas where media was available were in the individual rooms of residents. Media use was also a possibility in two common areas. (a) a TV lounge, and (b) a dining room. These observations made clear that media played at least some role in the lives of the people I was studying. As a result, a number of ideas emerged from early observations of media use at the research site. The ideas I set out to explore centered on the following. (a) interest in the ways media use is integrated and/or transformed within individual and group contexts, (b) how communication media provide tools for

copied with a life crisis, staying or becoming connected to others, and/or creating a common reason for communication, and (c) other ways communication media could be seen as enhancing the particular care-giving context.

Through an in-depth examination of common cultural experience within this particular group and looking at media use in the context of their everyday lives, I am hopeful that this study adds insights into ever-evolving conceptualizations about community and perhaps provides practical information for caregivers who may work with similar type groups. More specifically, I chose to look at common cultural experience and media use in everyday life for the following reasons:

- 1 While I set out to explore some of the same ideas Adelman and Frey (1997) studied in relation to connections between communication and community within the context of a shared residence for people with HIV/AIDS, my study adds, in a similar social context, an examination of issues they did not explore: common cultural experience and media use in everyday life. This study then contributes to theoretical discussions about communication and community and focuses attention on some new issues in relation to those suffering from HIV/AIDS.
- 2 While media use has increasingly been explored as it is embedded in everyday life (e.g., Radway, 1984; Rakow, 1992), it has received much less attention when everyday life has been additionally impacted by a particular health circumstance (as an exception, a study by Riggs [1998] did look at a health issue to some extent in her study of

television use within a retirement community). I suggest that learning more about media use within a particular care-giving situation could add useful understanding about how people perhaps foster (or not) community and/or a sense of community in and around the kind of communication media they use in everyday life. In turn, this information could add insights into the value of attending to media use in care-giving situations.

The Research Site

The evidence for the arguments developed in this dissertation is drawn from two and one-half years of fieldwork at a residential support facility for people with HIV/AIDS. The facility is located in a large, northeastern U.S. city and can provide housing for up to 21 people. The actual time period the study occurred in was between April 2002 and September 2004. To protect the privacy of the residential facility and all those involved, I chose the following pseudonym: Casa Albergues. I decided on this name for two reasons. First, as mentioned, the population served by Casa Albergues is mostly Latino and the real name of the house is in Spanish. Second, the two terms together, *casa* and *albergues*, aptly describe a lodging that is created to respond to the emergence of a social and/or health need among a group of people. Throughout the dissertation, I have also protected the identity of individuals (i.e., both residents and staff) connected to Casa Albergues by assigning pseudonyms.

Ethnography of Communication

The ethnographic approach used here traces its roots to the ethnography of communication (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992, Hymes, 1972, Hymes, 1974, Keating, 2001). I used the ethnography of communication as a way to view the case from the position that "the ethnographer is likely to look at communication from the standpoint and interests of the community itself, and to see its members as sources of shared knowledge and insight" (Hymes, 1974, p. 8). Generally, ethnography of communication is a compelling way to look at the description and analysis of culture as it exists in the everyday communication of a community or group of people bound together in some way. More specifically, ethnography of communication allows the researcher greater insights into the patterns of communication evidenced in everyday interactions by breaking down the exploration of these patterns into three distinct categories: (a) communication situations, (b) communication events, and (c) communication acts.

By looking at patterns of communication within the group at Casa Albergues, I increasingly came to question what community involves. Initial interest for this grew out of early influences by Bell and Newby (1972). They proposed that necessary for an understanding of community is the exploration of what it *involves* as opposed to what it *is*. As early as 1955, Hillery found that 91 out of 94 studies of community defined the concept in terms of people engaging in social interaction, followed by common ties and area (cited in Bell & Newby, 1972). While his work and later scholarship (e.g., Arnett & Arneson, 1999, Checki, Cahill, & Lofland, 1994) provided clarity for defining the nature of community (what it *is*), I believe much still

needs to be explored to gain ever deeper understanding of why and how people connect and stay connected to others. Through ethnography of communication, I sought to gain “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) of communication patterns among the residents and staff at Casa Albergues.

In Chapter Two, Literature Review, I discuss in detail ethnography of communication and ways in which it has been used to analyze social contexts. The literature review serves to put ideas from ethnography of communication into conversation with perspectives in community, communication, and media studies. Among many others, I include concepts and research from scholars of community (e.g., Anderson, 1983, Bell & Newby, 1972, Cohen, 1985), and communication, with an emphasis on communication as a symbolic and transactional process (e.g., Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992, Carey, 1989, Mokros & Deetz, 1996, Wilmot, 1975). For considerations of media use in everyday life, I was influenced by the work of Becker and McCall (1990), Alasuutari (1995), and Bird (2003), among many others.

While ethnography of communication was the overall framework for this particular study, literature from community, communication, and media studies provided vantage points from which to examine my case study and added additional insights into my exploration of the case. More specifically, these literatures helped to unpack the complex story of a small group of people as this story was evidenced through their patterns of communication by providing (a) explanation on how people interact to construct who they are in relationship to others, (b) ideas about what may matter and/or have significance for individuals and groups within the realities they

construct, and (c) a framework to evaluate the particular kind of health community revealed at Casa Albergues, namely a social support network.

Next, I provide a discussion of social support. I present this discussion as a way to contextualize the kind of social circumstance within which the group I studied met and interacted. I return to a discussion of social support toward the end of the dissertation to detail ways in which I see this study providing a measure of insight into care-giving in similar social support contexts, particularly for those social contexts facilitating support for Latinos suffering from HIV/AIDS.

Social Support

Living with HIV/AIDS is an incredibly difficult task. Among many things, people with HIV/AIDS have to manage the daily physical demands of a disease that shifts them into multiple kinds of physical wellness and distress and they also must cope with the toll the disease takes on their emotional health (Kylmä, Vehviläinen-Julkunen, & Lahdevirta, 2001). One way that people have found support to help them deal with the disease has been to seek out or construct a social support network. Broadly, and in relation to health, I understand social support as a process of communication behavior helping people to deal with the anxiety and uncertainty faced as a result of their health problem (Albrecht & Adelman, 1987). More specifically, Albrecht and Adelman (1987) wrote "Social support refers to verbal and nonverbal communication between recipients and providers that reduces uncertainty about the situation, the self, the other, or the relationship, and functions to enhance a perception of personal control in one's life experience" (p. 19). Conceptualizing social support as a communication process orients it as "a

transactional, symbolic process of mutual influence occurring between two or more individuals that alters their affective, cognitive, or behavioral states" (Albrecht & Adelman, 1987, p. 20).

In 1994, Barnes and Duck remarked that while communication research had focused on the qualities of social support that are enacted or are felt to be received, little research had looked at two key issues: "(a) What are the everyday processes of continuous relationships that enable them to be places to which people turn in times of crisis? and (b) How are these processes conducted?" (p. 175). Studies of social support networks are one way that communication scholars have investigated the everyday processes of health groups and/or communities in both spatially limited and delimited circumstances (e.g., Braithwaite, Waldron, & Finn, 1999; Evans & Falk, 1986; Wright, 2002). There are many reasons why a person might seek out a social support network. In the above examples, the reasons ranged from finding a sense of related experience in a residential school for deaf children (Evans & Falk) to seeking a sense of connection via computer-mediated social networks with others that had some form of disability (Braithwaite et al.), and to discuss the physical and emotional difficulties associated with having cancer (Wright).

Some studies of social support have specifically looked at HIV/AIDS as an aspect of the social support process, particularly as HIV/AIDS influences social relationships. For example, Hays, Catania, McKusick, and Coates (1990) looked at the effectiveness and the extent to which gay men use social network resources for coping with AIDS-related concerns. They found in patterns of help-seeking behavior among four groups of gay men that regardless of their positive or negative HIV

status, peers were perceived to be the most helpful source of social support. Falkin and Strauss (2000) studied the communication of HIV-positive and HIV-negative substance-abusing women and established that communication about health issues for them, particularly as women, was essential for obtaining the information they needed to manage HIV/AIDS and/or prevent contracting the disease. Brashers et al. (1999) provided insights into the "Lazarus Syndrome," where people, who had resigned themselves to dying from AIDS, now found themselves in a revival experience due to the improvement of treatment responses for their disease. They found that participants in their study described the unexpected physical renewal as a new stressor, which forced them to re-negotiate the following: "(a) feelings of hope and future orientation, (b) social roles and identities, (c) interpersonal relations, and (d) the quality of their lives" (Brashers et al., 1999, p. 201).

These studies have added to my understanding of and interests in a key question in social support literature: "What is it about the process, structure, and function of transactional communication behavior that has ramifications for the quality of individual life?" (Albrecht & Adelman, 1987, p. 14). In the social support network Adelman and Frey (1997) studied, they described a dialectic relationship in how people form connections with others in a community context by saying: "The individual and the collective are two sides of the same coin – one simply cannot exist without the other" (p. 2). Adelman and Frey suggested that "community life is like a tightrope, held taut by the sustained tensions of daily living" (1997, p. 17). In earlier writing, Adelman and Frey (1994) discussed five central tensions they found facing residents and staff at Bonaventure House in creating and sustaining the community

(a) private life vs. public life, (b) individual identity vs. group identity, (c) residents' autonomy vs. staff control, (d) wellness vs. illness, and (e) attachment vs. detachment

Variations of each of these tensions were evidenced in my case study at Casa Albergues. Perhaps it was because I set out to explore an added set of issues, common cultural experience and media use, that some tensions seemed to reveal themselves more strongly in the data. The tensions I saw most in evidence were (a) individual identity vs. group identity, (b) residents' autonomy vs. staff control, and (c) a sense of connection vs. a sense of disconnect. In my study, I saw these tensions influenced by a number of key factors: (a) negotiations around masculine identity as residents' perceptions of self and others related to broader debates about masculinity in Latino culture (Díaz, 1998); (b) interpersonal disassociation (Leary & Schreindorfer, 1998) influenced by stigma, and (c) communication situations could be enhanced by the sharing of a common language and simultaneously strained by the absence of one.

In Chapter Four, I discuss these tensions at length and present the data that explains them. This leads me to my research questions. To come to a more in-depth understanding of the role of communication as it functioned to create or impede community and/or a sense of community in this particular case, I set out to explore the following research questions in my study:

Research Questions

- RQ 1 How does communication function to create or impede community and/or a sense of community within the context of a shared residential facility for Latino people dealing with HIV AIDS?
- RQ 2 What is the role of communication media, in individual and group life, for fostering community and/or a sense of community within the context of a shared residential facility for Latino people dealing with HIV AIDS?

The next chapter, Chapter Two, offers a review of key literature. Then, in Chapter Three, I discuss details of the ethnographic case study approach I used in the study as well as how I analyzed data generated through research methods. In Chapter Four, I present results and discussions of the data as they related to key patterns of communication. I conclude in Chapter Five with a look at the limitations and future implications of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

I see this literature review as revealing the backstage of the key concepts I discussed in Chapter One relating to community, communication, ethnography of communication, and media use. In Chapter One, I laid out each as they pertained to the study. Here, I present an expanded discussion of the areas to show the interrelated nature of the concepts for building an approach to understanding the ways in which people construct for them what has meaning and significance.

The first part of the literature review presents a discussion of community and communication, and then examines how literature on the ethnography of communication connects to these and provides the theoretical paradigm from which I explored research questions. The second part of the literature review discusses key literature, which support media use as an area of inquiry. In some instances in the discussion of the literature, I will use examples from my experiences at Casa Albergues to illustrate the applicability. I provide these instances as a precursor to the more detailed findings that will be discussed in depth in Chapter Four, Results and Discussion.

Community

In Chapter One, I emphasized a point made by Bell and Newby (1972) that important to the definition of community is defining what it *involves* as opposed to what it *is*. From this framework, I suggested that perhaps something could be learned about community by looking at the communication of a particular group and how they create and/or sustain a sense of community in spatially limited and delimited circumstances (Steiner, 1983). In his discussions of community, Tönnies (1887/1957) captured the essence of the connections formed between people

The will and the spirit of kinship is not confined within the walls of the house nor bound up with physical proximity, but, where it is strong and alive in the closest and most intimate relationship, it can live on itself, thrive on memory alone, and overcome any distance by its feeling and its imagination or nearness and common activity (p. 43)

One way that community is often distinguished is in respect to space (Adelman & Frey, 1997). Sometimes this space has been defined by the physical proximity or closeness one has to another. As an example of this, Tönnies (1887/1957) discussed life in community as marked by the "intimate, private, and exclusive living together" (p. 33). Moving away from the exclusivity of living together, Bender (1978) suggested that community be viewed as an experience rather than place, suggesting that "community is where community happens" (p. 6). He argued that there is a sense of "we-ness" in community such that those in a community are bound together by emotional or affective ties. Cohen (1985) discussed boundaries, saying "The boundary marks the beginning and the end of a

community" (p. 12). Explaining further, Cohen suggested, "the boundary encapsulates the identity of the community and, like the identity of an individual, is called into being by the exigencies of social interaction" (p. 12). "The consciousness of community is, then, encapsulated in perception of its boundaries, boundaries which are themselves largely constituted by people in interaction" (Cohen, 1985, p. 13).

Pushing ideas about community in a different direction, Anderson (1983) wrote, "all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (p. 6). In Anderson's view, he was pointing out that people could feel as though they are part of a community that is simply known to exist. To illustrate his point, Anderson spoke of nations that are "imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations" (1983, p. 7). Work by Meyrowitz (1985) added noteworthy dimension to discussions of styles in which communities could be imagined. Meyrowitz was most interested in the impact of electronic media on social behavior and the formation of socially different "places" within which people could see themselves in relation to others. As an example of this, Meyrowitz wrote about home life in the following way:

The walls of the family home, for example, are no longer effective barriers that wholly isolate the family from the larger community and society. The family home is now a less bounded and unique environment because of family

members' access and accessibility to other places and other people through radio, television, and telephone (1985, p. vii)

Whereas Meyrowitz (1995) drew attention to the shifting ground upon which people could find opportunities to interact and/or to experience self in relation to others in new ways through electronic media, Gergen (1991) was concerned that electronic means of communication would dilute the perceived need or desire for face-to-face contact. Gergen wrote

Physical immediacy and geographic closeness disappear as criteria of community. When loving support is squeezed from telephonic impulses, fascination is fired by "on line" computer mates, ecstasy is procured for the price of an air ticket, and continuous entertainment is generated by the mere flick of a TV remote, who needs the tedious responsibility of a next-door neighbor?" (1991, p. 215).

While I understand Gergen's point and see its implications, I argue that by suggesting geography or proximity as a criteria of community, he limits the places where community can be found or built. In doing so, Gergen does not sufficiently account for the meaningful connections that people can form in non-face-to-face interactions via electronic communication means.

Indeed, studies involving the use of electronic media (e.g., Meyrowitz, 1985, Rakow, 1992) have continued to provide deeper understandings and interpretations of how people connect with others and stay connected, and how social behavior is transformed and/or sustained through communication media such as the Internet and the telephone. As an example, Rakow's study provided insight into the sentiment

involved in the use of telephone talk as something women engaged in that not only served to reinforce their gendered role in the community, but also was key in building and maintaining relationships with family and friends, for sustaining the structure of the community, for providing and receiving care and emotional support, and for accomplishing “business” that entered the private sphere.

Looking at on-line electronic media within the context of a health issue, Bresnahan and Murray-Johnson (2002) critiqued “the healing web” of a women’s health discussion group dealing with menopause and midlife transition. They argued that the vital support women received while trying to make sense out of the change in their lives ultimately produced a community of support. They found that the on-line discourse among the women primarily revolved around (a) participants’ problems communicating with their physicians, (b) problems with hormone replacement therapy, and (c) the advisability of alternative treatments. It was through conversations about these health issues that friendship networks were formed. These friendship networks, sustained through electronic means, transformed as the women became increasingly interested in pursuing opportunities for face-to-face interaction. Face-to-face interaction later occurred in the form of retreats, conferences, and brunches. This study showed the kinds of shifting circumstances upon which community can be created, sustained, and/or transformed. In the case of the women in Bresnahan’s and Murray-Johnson’s study, what started out as a health discussion group via electronic media, providing informational and support needs, grew beyond these bounds, becoming, for them, a community that was simultaneously

(a) sustained through electronic media, (b) transformed to include face-to-face interaction, and (c) reinforced by both these sustaining and transformative behaviors

Simply put, Cohen (1985) wrote that the interpretation of the use of the word community implies two related ideas "that the members of a group of people (a) have something in common with each other, which (b) distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups" (p. 12). Looking at particularities of communication, commonality, and how people connect with others, scholars such as Myerhoff (1978) and Steiner (1983) have studied the nature of community and/or a sense of community. Their work laid an important part of the groundwork for examinations of relationships between communication and community in my case study. Myerhoff, in her analysis of an elderly Jewish community at a Senior Citizens Center, discovered that at least a part of what held this group together as a community was a constant reinforcement of the relationships they had established with each other through dissention and conflict. She went on to argue "Anger welded them together, fulfilling many purposes at the same time: asserting autonomy over themselves and their circumstances; demonstrating responsiveness to each other, clarifying the community's membership boundaries." (Myerhoff, p. 187)

In a different kind of study, Steiner (1983) showed how women could create and sustain a "community of sentiment" that was situated around the newspapers and journals produced by women suffragists. Steiner argued that media, in this circumstance, helped women to locate and identify themselves within the context of a community that was not bound geographically and "find there a sense of significance

and meaningfulness" (p. 1). She argued that in non-spatially limited circumstances women found a sense of community through shared sentiment. As additional explanation of sentiment, I found Gordon's (1981) definition of sentiment compelling: "a socially constructed pattern of sensations, expressive gestures, and cultural meanings organized around a relationship to a social object, usually another person" (p. 566). His definition gets at the work done by groups to socially construct for them what matters. I argue that without commitment by members of a group to engage in an on-going process of constructing community and/or a sense of community, in collaboration with others within their particular social context, community or a sense of community cannot be sustained or realized.

Myerhoff's (1978) and Steiner's (1983) work pointed out how people in each case engaged in communication to find, create, and/or sustain a sense of community. In the case of the elderly Jewish community, members negotiated and sustained community in a common locality through, among other things, their face-to-face communication with one another. In contrast, women suffragists found their sense of community in the "communications of women" (Steiner, 1983, p. 6) and through these discovered a togetherness in their history and future. Steiner's and Myerhoff's work provided evidence of the complexity of what community and/or a sense of community could involve and the different ways community boundaries (Cohen, 1985) could be explored, constructed, and/or understood.

Synthesizing these perspectives, a case could be made that by looking at the communication of a particular group of people, something could be learned about community boundaries, the ways a community constructs and expresses its own

identity to itself and others, the kinds of relationship ties that maintain and develop a sense of community, and/or the style(s) in which community is imagined by groups of people.

In Chapter One, I described community as defined by a common set of characteristics shared by a group of people whose identity is articulated by the character of its commonalities (Cohen, 1985; Mattem, 1998). Providing additional framework for this definition, I also discussed Adelman and Frey's (1997) perspective on community as a " 'web' spun of space, identity, emotional connection, interdependence, common symbols, and mutual influence" (p. 5). These baseline frameworks for understanding community, combined with additional viewpoints in my discussions in the first part of the literature review, served as the foundation for the development of key qualities I see as essential for assessing whether or not community and/or a sense of community exists within a group of people.

More specifically, the qualities I see as necessary for community and/or for a group to have a sense of community are: (a) a sense of we-ness among the group (Bender, 1978), (b) some form of strong affective tie(s), and (c) a commitment to constructing and sustaining connections to other members of the group. One of the things I specifically excluded from this definition was a reference to proximity. I see the possibility for people creating community and/or a sense of community lying equally in spatially limited and delimited circumstances. In other words, I argue that people can have a sense of we-ness and feel connected to others in ways that cross and incorporate a variety of different kinds of spatial and/or temporal boundaries. The quality that binds people into a sense of we-ness is their commitment to

constructing and sustaining connections with others in these spatially limited and/or delimited circumstances

I focused on we-ness, strong affective ties, and a commitment to constructing and sustaining connections to others as I came to more clearly understand conceptualizations about community in the abstract and the practical. What I came to realize is that proximity or shared space could in some ways support the *myth* of community within a particular social context. But I argue that to have community there needs to exist a sense of community that is constructed *and* reinforced through communicative practices. I see this as quite different from how one might conceptualize a family or group. To be sure, the case could be made that a sense of family is likewise constructed and reinforced through communicative practices, but I argue that families have a pre-existing relational common tie, however strong or fragile, that binds them together. I argue that a group differs from community in that it can involve the qualities detailed above, and/or have measured amounts of each, but I understand a group as being able to exist apart from fully realizing the qualities of community and/or a sense of community I outlined. Perhaps being a group is a step toward becoming a community and/or having a sense of community. I do seek to make clear that for community and/or a sense of community to exist, communication serves as the medium to this end (Adelman & Frey, 1997).

The communication of a particular group, then, perhaps becomes the best place to look to assess whether or not community and/or a sense of community is present within a group. But, to understand the role of communication in relation to

community, much needs to be said about the ways in which communication is constructed

Communication

Introduction

In Chapter One, I used Carey's (1989) definition of communication as a way to frame my discussions of the concept. He described communication as "a symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired, and transformed" (Carey, 1989, p. 23). While his definition provides a broad view of communication, there is much to be done to unpack and specify this definition, particularly as it relates to the social context I am studying. Here, I seek to step back from Carey's definition and examine the symbolic process, to which he was referring, in how people interact to construct, sustain, and change their reality via their communication.

I begin my discussion by going to some of the foundational material for Carey's (1989) definition of communication. Later, I discuss transactional communication (Wilmot, 1975) as I see it mediating the theoretical ground between Carey's work and a constitutive view of communication discussed by Mokros and Deetz (1996). A constitutive view of communication then lays the groundwork to move into a discussion of ethnography of communication and to explore studies in this tradition that have provided insights into how people constitute what has meaning and significance for them in a variety of social contexts.

Communication and the Construction of Meaning

In 1929, Dewey described meaning as arising through communication. Building on this, Mead (1934) spoke of communication as a conversation of gestures where people respond to each other based on their shared understanding of the symbols (both verbal and non-verbal) that are formed through an interactive social

process of presenting, perceiving, and responding to each others' symbols. Mead described this social process

The social process relates the responses of one individual to the gestures of another, as the meanings of the latter, and is thus responsible for the rise and existence of new objects in the social situation, objects dependent upon or constituted by these meanings. Meaning is thus not to be conceived, fundamentally, as a state of consciousness, or as a set of organized relations existing or subsisting mentally outside the field of experience into which they enter, on the contrary, it should be conceived objectively, as having its existence entirely within this field itself. (1934, p. 78)

Growing out of this work, scholars have examined communication as symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969). Blumer wrote that symbolic interactionism rests on three premises: (a) people act toward things based on the meanings the things have for them, (b) meaning is generated through social interaction, and (c) the meaning of things a person encounters is handled and modified through a person's own interpretative processes. Revealing the nature of interpretation in social contexts, Cohen (1985) stated: "In the struggle to interpret, we use our past experience to render stimuli into a form sufficiently familiar that we can attach some sense to them" (p. 99).

Combining ideas by Dewey (1916), Mead (1934), Blumer (1969), and Cohen (1985), two points are of central concern: (a) the ways in which people interact to construct or perhaps *recognize* shared meaning; and (b) that a person enters into each new interaction with his or her own "history" of past interactions and experiences in

other social contexts, which could be similar and/or different to their present interactional situation. Geertz's (1973) discussions of culture have added important insights into understandings of symbolic interaction and the nature of what is embedded in a person's interactive and interpretative processes. "Becoming human is becoming individual, and we become individual under the guidance of cultural patterns, historically created systems of meanings in terms of which we give form, order, point, and direction to our lives" (Geertz, 1973, p. 52). The point here is that people construct meaning through their interactions *and* this meaning is at least partially constructed by who we are in the first place.

For example, within the particular group I studied, interaction occurred simultaneously within the common cultural experience of being Latino and along a continuum of differences that existed within this commonality. This interactive dichotomy helped to articulate the circumstance within which the group I studied interacted and negotiated what had significance and meaning for them. They were at once Latinos and individuals. This duality became one way I could view and evaluate the nature of community or a sense of community within the group. More specifically, it was through their communication that I was able to see whether or not individuals in the group, in relation to others, communicated a sense of we-ness, evidenced affective ties, and/or worked to construct and/or sustain connections to others.

Communication and Construction of Meaning Between Self and Other

My understanding of communication is enhanced by Berger's (1967) assessment that "society is a dialectic phenomenon in that it is a human product, and

nothing but a human product, that yet continuously acts back upon its producer" (p

3) Berger also wrote

Every individual biography is an episode within the history of society, which both precedes and survives it. Society was there before the individual was born and it will be there after he has died. What is more, it is within society, and as a result of social processes, that the individual becomes a person, that he attains and holds onto an identity, and that he carries out the various projects that constitute his life. (1967, p. 3)

I see Berger's work as useful for capturing the nature of the reflexive process between a person and his or her environment, both in a broad sense, that being between self and society, and in a narrower sense, between self and other. In my work, I set out to explore issues that fell more into relationships between self and other. In his discussions of social organization, Mead said

The principle which I have suggested as basic to human social organization is that of communication involving participation in the other. This requires the appearance of the other in the self, the identification of the other with the self, the reaching of self-consciousness through the other. (p. 253)

Goffman's (1967) discussions of face provided a more detailed account of relationships between self and other. He wrote

The term face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes – albeit an image that others may share. (Goffman, 1967, p. 5)

Growing out of these conversations about communication, especially as it relates to relationships between self and other, a transactional perspective on communication (Wilmot, 1975) provides a useful perspective for understanding the ways and reasons people communicate with one another and how they construct and sustain relationships. Wilmot wrote that a transactional perspective of communication informs a process of interpretation by which people create and decipher the communication of one another to come to some kind of shared meaning. Wilmot suggested that each participant in the communication exchange affects and is affected by the other, emphasizing the contextual nature of communication. From a transactional view of communication, people are thus seen as creating and interpreting meaning in relationship to one another and within the particular social context they find themselves (Barnlund, 1970; Katz & Kahn, 1973; Mortensen, 1972).

Building on these ideas, Mokros and Deetz (1996) wrote, "persons, as well as things are seen to be constituted through, rather than being prior to, communication practices" (p. 32). They said, "A communicative situation is, therefore, not merely a moment of information or message exchange, but is a situation within which communicative activities constitute its participants and the situation they believe to be situated within" (Mokros & Deetz, 1996, p. 32). Emphasizing identity as it is expressed in interaction, Carbaugh's (1996) work adds insight into points made by Mokros and Deetz. Carbaugh wrote

Every social interaction presupposes and creatively invokes social identities
Interacting with others carries with it messages, intentional or not, about the

kind(s) of person one is (and others are), how one is (currently being) relating to others, and what feelings are to be associated with this current social arrangement (1996, p. 123)

Carbaugh's work brings into focus key concerns I saw as relevant to explore at Casa Albergues. The first can be captured in Goffman's (1963) discussion of stigma and normality. He said, "Since interaction roles are involved, not concrete individuals, it should come as no surprise that in many cases he who is stigmatized in one regard nicely exhibits all the normal prejudices held toward those who are stigmatized in another regard" (Goffman, 1963, p. 138). This mattered at Casa Albergues because often stigma associated with definitions of Latino masculinity (Díaz, 1998) and HIV/AIDS could be seen in residents' interactions. To capture how stigma, among many other things, was seen in the context of these interactions, I found the definition of discourse discussed by Lederman (1996) particularly useful for attending to the ways in which people communicate, in intended and unintended ways, what matters for them in the context of their interactions. She said

Discourse between people is taken into account when we note such indicators as what people say when they talk to one another; how they say it; when they say it, what kind of words they use, what accompanies those words, who speaks to whom and how often, whether they appear to listen to one another, what gets said when they speak, what seems to go without saying, and what gets said between them again and again, and so on. From these cues and the meanings we give to them, we infer the existence, nature, and quality of a relationship between interactants. (Lederman, 1996, p. 198)

In this same article, Lederman (1996) focused attention on a sense of self as it is presented and constructed in everyday interactions, bringing emphasis to the dialectic relationship between self and environment. Here, she described the individual in interpersonal communication as the "presenting self." Lederman wrote that the presenting self is a part of a multiple system of selves that comprise the whole self. More specifically, Lederman argued that, as a background to the presenting self, there are constructs of selves, which are constructed and reinforced through relationships with self (or "talks" one has with oneself), which are maintained through intrapersonal communication.

Relating this to the group I studied, perhaps it could be the circumstance that stigma creates a greater distance between an individual's presenting self and some of the other selves that comprise the whole self. In other words, I suspect that for some, within the social context I looked at, there could be longer distances, metaphorically speaking, to travel between perceptions *of* and conversations *with* self, and *the* self ultimately presented to others. Goffman (1963) described the "distance" to which I am referring, as it is influenced by stigma, as "a special discrepancy between virtual and actual social identity" (p. 3).

I saw this esoteric space, between virtual and actual social identity, as a difficult terrain to traverse for many I interacted with, within the context of my case study. More to the point, I found that many in the group I studied were faced with questions of identity framed as "who am I" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) in relationship to others. I came to suspect that for some, questions about "who am I" could also be understood as questions of "who I am not." In other words, for some

within the group I studied, who a person was not, or at least did not want to be perceived as being, could be identified *in* others. Mokros (2003) artfully captured this reflective process in his discussions of “otherness.” He said, “Otherness refers to characteristics of another group that provides a basis by which individuals, groups, and communities articulate a sense of who they are by referencing that which they are not” (Mokros, 2003, pp. 242-243). Gergen (1991) provided perspective on how one can “see” the interactions of people. He said, “This socially embedded view of the self is also revealed in relationship patterns” (Gergen, 1991, p. 9). This leads me to ethnography of communication.

As I prepare to shift my discussion to ethnography of communication, I want to make a few final points on communication. Denzin (1989) wrote:

Thick interpretation constructs a system of analysis and understanding that is meaningful within the worlds of lived experience. It assumes that any experience has meaning at two levels: the surface (or the intended) and the deep (unintended) (Freud, 1900 [1965]). Meaning, which must be captured in interpretation, is symbolic. It moves in surface and deep directions at the same time. Thick interpretation attempts to unravel and record these multiple meaning structures that flow from interactional experience. (pp. 101-102)

Communication is “thick.” To understand communication, researchers can, and often do, explore interactions people have within self, with others, and with their environments. This study is about all of these things. I view the ideas presented in this section as helping to unpack the communication within the group I studied for what their communication could tell me about community and/or a sense of

community. More specifically, to understand their communication, I needed to situate their communication in a theoretical context that accounted for how they constructed, maintained, and/or transformed their communication practices within the context of their group. By attending to the role of self in interaction with others, I sought to lay the groundwork for understanding what individual members of the group I studied potentially "brought to the table" in their interactions. In turn, I saw these interactions as informed by their previous interactions, culture, and experiences associated with health status. I sensed that there was a patterning to these interactions that I set out to explore using ethnography of communication.

Ethnography of communication provided a framework for getting deeper into those patterns of communication upon which communication between people is constituted. In my discussions of ethnography of communication, I have two primary goals: (a) to establish its historical context, and (b) to elaborate on studies using ethnography of communication, which I viewed as informing issues I saw evidenced in my case study. It is to these conversations I now turn.

Ethnography of Communication

Researchers in the ethnography of communication tradition “move from thick description of communicative phenomena to identifying underlying speech codes or cultural patterns” (LeBaron, Mandelbaum, & Glenn, 2003, p. 42). The ethnography of communication grew out of the study of language and sociolinguistics (Hymes, 1974). Hymes (see also Gumperz & Hymes, 1972) situated the ethnography of communication between studies of linguistics that had tended to focus on linguistic form, a given speech code, and/or speech in and of itself, and concerns in sociolinguistic studies with the place of language in the face-to-face and broader social lives of people. Hymes suggested that the study of linguistics did not sufficiently take into account the complex ways that language is used in everyday communication. Earlier, Hymes (1964) stated

It is not linguistics, but ethnography - not language, but communication which must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be described. The boundaries of the community within which communication is possible, the boundaries of the situations within which communication occurs, the means and purposes and patterns of selection, their structure and hierarchy, that constitute the communicative economy of a group, are conditioned, to be sure, by properties of the linguistic codes within the group, but are not controlled by them (p. 3)

The key shift in thinking that this passage captures is that “the basic unit of analysis is a community or group rather than a language or dialect” (Hymes, 1972, p.

36) Bateson (1963) asserted that important for understanding communicative events is keeping in view the multiple hierarchy of relations among messages and contexts.

The process leading to the conceptualization of ethnography of communication, Hymes (1964) began with a perspective on ethnography of speaking that was later broadened to ethnography of communication (see also Keating, 2001). The theoretical work done by Gumperz and Hymes (1972) on the ethnography of speaking proposed to combine the emphasis on and analysis of culture in ethnography with the description and analysis of language in linguistics (Keating, 2001). Numerous studies grew and continue to grow out of this tradition (e.g., Briggs, 2000; Brathwaite, 1997; Fitch, 2003; Jackson, 1974; Martin, 2000; among many others). The focus of ethnographies of speaking tend to be situated around "patterns and functions of speaking, patterns and functions that organize the use of language in the conduct of social life" (Bauman & Sherzer, 1975, p. 98). For example, Martin (2000) studied the use of Mocho, a Mayan language, as it continues to be used by a small group of people in Chiapas, Mexico. Martin explored how this group utilized Mocho to conduct the business of daily life, joke, made social plans, tell stories, gossip, reminisce, and/or pray. She found that Mocho was the language chosen for these kinds of interactions, even when most could have chosen to speak in their second language of Spanish. Martin's goal was to unpack the deeper meanings of what it meant to use the Mocho language in the aforementioned kinds of interactions to gain deeper insights into the language and its users.

Martin's (2000) study framed key issues I witnessed in relation to language use within the group I studied. Namely, the sharing of a common language for some

added to a sense of we-ness for them, and served to isolate others that did not have the same language capabilities. The majority of the group spoke Spanish (90%) as their first language. Among the group of Spanish speakers, only about 20% could speak English well enough to carry on interactions that went beyond salutations and basic questions like "How are you?" Hence, social bonding that occurred within the group had to somehow circumvent serious language barriers. In his discussions of the role of communication in bonding, Carbaugh (1988) wrote

Communication functions for these persons as both the process and material of being and bonding, it is not only the how of self and relationship but also a valued social state in which these symbols of being, bonding and speaking are realized. (p. 155)

In the case of the group I studied, I saw that a lack of shared language impeded community and/or a sense of community within the group as a whole. In other words, bonding within the group, which could have perhaps come about through their communication, was at least in part framed by the inability to have an agreed upon *text* (Fitch, 1998) that they shared within the *context* of their group. Even when there is a more equal distribution of language within a group (i.e., when people mostly share the same language), studies of bilingual communities have also found similar tensions among people as they try to come to some agreement on shared texts (e.g., Bonvillian, 2000; Scollon & Wong-Scollon, 1990).

Language also played a role in the context I studied in how some individuals created bonds through the use of a language that was more specific to their identity as gay men. Among the gay men, I saw a cultural patterning to their speech. There

were a number of words and styles of interactions that would occur in communicative situations that would reveal links between them. For example, they would joke and interact with one another by using words like “comadre” (sister) and “puta” (whore) that called into existence a web of relationships and associations they sustained through the ways they talked with one another.

Braithwaite (1997) examined the communal function of speech and explored how a group of Vietnam veterans constructed a communal identity with their communication. More specifically, Braithwaite suggested that the cultural patterning of speech among the veterans was central to them creating and maintaining a sense of community, even though individual differences in socioeconomic status, age, ethnicity, or ideology threatened to separate them. A reinforcement of group goals and identity through their talk became the way the veterans felt they could get things done.

Earlier, I stated that Hymes (1964) shifted some of his original thinking on ethnography of speaking to a related but separate emphasis on ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1972, Hymes, 1974). Hymes (1974) made it clear in this shift to considerations of ethnography of communication that the community or social context was the starting point for the “ethnographic analysis of the communicative conduct of a community” (p. 9).

To look at communication in a community or group context, Hymes (1972) organized communication into three units so as to have recognizable boundaries for analysis: (a) communicative situations, (b) communicative events, and (c) communicative acts. The communicative situation is the context within which the

communication occurs such as a meeting, a class, or a social event. A communicative event is the interaction, or series of interactions, that take place during a particular communicative situation. Communicative acts are the verbal and non-verbal utterances that signify how speech communities construct a shared understanding unique to their group.

Numerous studies have used the ethnography of communication as their research framework (e.g., Carbaugh, 1988, Carbaugh, 1999, Katriel, 1986, among many others). Carbaugh (1988) wrote "By studying human scenes through their patterns of communication, we can understand both the forms of communication people use when speaking and the models for being that they embody when speaking" (p. 1). Additionally, Carbaugh described communication as "a spoken system of symbols, symbolic forms, and meanings—both as it is used in cultural contexts and as it uses concepts of personhood and speaking. By examining what people are saying this way, one can understand communication as an activity full of meaning" (1988, p. 14). Adding to Carbaugh's perspective, Saville-Troike (1989) emphasized that "the ethnography of communication takes language first and foremost as a socially situated cultural form, while recognizing the necessity to analyze the code itself and the cognitive process of its speakers and hearers" (p. 3).

Considered the first study by a communication scholar using ethnography of communication, Katriel's study (1986) looked at a culturally situated way of speaking, that of Israeli *dugri* speech, meaning straight or direct talk, and the "cultural world in which it finds its place" (p. 1). In her work of uncovering the expressive patterns of Israeli culture in both local and broad social contexts, Katriel gradually

extended her insight into the meaning of *dugri* by looking at it as a word, an encounter, a ritual, and a social drama (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990). Katnel looked at communicative situations, events, and acts surrounding *dugri* speech by exploring them from multiple perspectives within Israeli culture. In choosing her ethnographic approach to study the communication of a particular culture in this way, Katnel wrote:

In studying those fleeting moments of drama and ritual that lie somewhere between the formality of official ritualdom and the informality of everyday spoken exchanges, we can perhaps reveal, and thus further fix and make available for reflection, the expressive idioms that shape our lives.

Unattended, they may leave us unschooled by the lessons they can teach, yet at the same time uncritically trapped in their compelling form. (Katnel, 1986, p. 120)

Katnel's (1986) study seemed to be getting at a central question that Carbaugh and Hastings (1992) later identified as key for gaining insight to locally distinctive symbols, symbolic forms, and meanings that people themselves find significant. In their discussions of the role of communication theory in ethnographic work and cultural analysis with research participants, Carbaugh and Hastings asked (a) "What are the various ways they themselves make their social lives cohere?" (1992, p. 157), and (b) "How do they render (validate, negotiate, contest, transform) the world during their many situated, reflexive, interactional social performances?" (1992, p. 157)

Perhaps growing out of these questions, Carbaugh's (1999) study of Blackfeet cultural discourse sought to answer how a people came to know places and what role

communication played in this process. In his case study, Carbaugh explored how “listening” was used among Blackfeet people to signify a form of communication unique to them and how it connected them to a specific physical space. Among his findings, Carbaugh found that “listening,” or its enactment, invoked a complex communicative form that was derived from and helped constitute cultural and physical spaces and provided a “traditional, nonverbal way of being in those places” (p. 262).

The point I want to emphasize in providing descriptions of the studies by Katriel (1986) and Carbaugh (1999) is that the focus in each was on the community and what it could tell about what mattered for members of that community. In each case, the focus was on the group of people under study and their particular communicative practices. I established in Chapter One that some of the story I found necessary to tell at Casa Albergues dealt with the common cultural experience of being Latino in relation to having AIDS. An additional aspect of their story I saw as important to explore was found in their communication surrounding media use in everyday life.

Media Use in Everyday Life

Introduction

As I became increasingly involved in the study of Casa Albergues, I noticed that at least a part of the “dailyness” of daily life involved media use in private and public contexts. Seeing this as part of the complexity of everyday activities, I set out to explore how people used media at Casa Albergues, either individually and/or in interaction with others, as a way to add additional insights into how the group perhaps connected and/or disconnected from others, adding to or detracting from community or a sense of community. One angle that media scholars have taken to look media use in everyday life is a constructionist viewpoint on media research.

Constructionist Viewpoint of Media Research

Constructionism emerged as a kind of media study to incorporate the day-to-day lives of consumers and producers of media. As Radway (1984) suggested, the daily lives of individuals should be the point of departure and the focus of media research. She explored the role of romance novels in women readers' daily lives. Traditional media studies had tended to look at the effects of media on particular audiences and/or how audiences interpreted media content. In Radway's work, daily life was taken into account along with her subjects' use of a particular media. Radway was able to gain a fuller understanding of what women understood themselves to be doing as they made choices about leisure time and day-to-day activities.

Incorporating a psychological approach, Kubey and Csikszentmihalyi (1990) set out to study TV viewing in its widest possible context as a cultural habit. They

wanted to look at feelings people had in their daily lives while engaging in activities such as walking the streets, eating, reading, and watching TV. They were looking at TV as it was embedded in the rest of life's activities.

The work by Radway (1984) and Kubey and Csikszentmihalyi (1990) provided examples of what Alasuutari (1999) coined as a third generation of media studies. He described this generation as follows

The third generation entails a broadened frame within which one conceives of the media and media use. One does not necessarily abandon ethnographic case studies of audiences or analyses of individual programmes, but the main focus is not restricted to finding out about the reception or 'reading' of a programme by a particular audience. Rather, the objective is to get a grasp of our contemporary 'media culture', particularly as it can be seen in the role of media in everyday life, both as a topic and as an activity structured by and structuring the discourses within which it is discussed. (p. 6)

Alasuutari (1999) suggested that doing media research from this standpoint reclaims and expands on the value of doing ethnographic work in audience studies. Media ethnography (Drotner, 2000) then is a way to situate the analysis of media into the broader framework of the everyday lives of those interacting with particular media texts.

As inclusive of daily life as the studies by Radway (1984) and Kubey and Csikszentmihalyi (1990) were, they did not set out to explore the day-to-day role of media in the lives of recipients. Rather, they wanted to know something about

romance readers and gender, and TV viewers and their needs/feelings. In both cases, the medium defined and articulated the audience

Two studies that did situate media in the context of daily life were those of Fiske (1993) and Riggs (1998). Fiske studied how a group of homeless men negotiated issues of power within a shelter system. He looked at power in primarily two ways: (a) "imperializing," where the emphasis is on strong, top-down power that reaches as far as possible into controlling human behavior and thought, and (b) "localizing," where power is used to control immediate social conditions. Fiske found, in the ways the men watched and responded to television and read what they were not supposed to read (i.e., the shelter banned pornography, but some of the men would "cover" the banned materials using the covers of acceptable magazines), that they used localized power as a way of articulating a sense of collective agency against an outside, more powerful other, while simultaneously refusing controls placed upon them through the shelter's disciplinary system.

Part of the work by Riggs (1998) was reminiscent of Radway's (1984) study of romance readers. She looked at how the popular TV show *Murder She Wrote* mattered and had significance among different elderly social groups. Going deeper into explorations of how television was significant and to make sense of the stories related to the role(s) of television in the lives of the elderly, Riggs spent two years doing a qualitative study of a retirement community. Two of the findings that Riggs found were that television became a reference point to connect others within the context of the community. For example, people would watch shows for which they had little interest so they could discuss it at a later point with other community

members. She also concluded that through television, the elderly “felt unbound by geographical restrictions and more a part of the national community” (p. 96).

The studies by Fiske (1993) and Riggs (1998) provided useful frameworks for looking at media audiences as they are embedded within a variety of social circumstances. From this standpoint, researchers can explore what audiences are doing with media in the context of their daily lives and how this matters and/or is transformed within complex social relationships.

Fiske’s (1993) work, in particular, added to how I looked at power relationships at Casa Albergues, especially between staff and residents. For example, at one point during my investigation, there were discussions about whether or not to even have a TV in a common area. A key staff member wanted to do away with the TV in the common space, citing a desire to avoid any confrontation about what to watch on TV among the residents. Up to that point in the data collection process, I had never seen (nor since seen) any major conflict over TV programming. There were occasional requests to switch channels and/or change from the TV to the radio, but that was about the extent of the interactions. Power *did* though become negotiated, not between the residents, rather between residents and the staff, thus, providing a situation I later discuss in terms familiar to Fiske’s conversations about power.

Whereas Riggs (1998) found a referent point between a particular media and its ability to connect people within the context of the group she studied, I saw media as serving a very different function. Rather than seeing communication media as something that connected people, more often than not I came to see media use, in the

particular context I studied, as something people did alone (i.e., in their own rooms). Out of this, I came to suspect that, for some at Casa Albergues, it was easier (and perhaps preferable) to create imaginary others with whom to relate through relationships constructed with and around different media (Gergen, 1991). Here, I was reminded of Lederman's (1996) discussions about intrapersonal communication, and later conversations L. C. Lederman, J. B. Lederman, and Kully (2004) had about the co-construction of meaning between self and the media. While L. C. Lederman et al. were discussing a different set of circumstances, as it related to the group they were discussing (i.e., college students, media, and the co-construction of myths about college drinking), I saw value in considering what people are doing with the media that relates to the kinds of conversations they have with self about media, and/or the relationships that people sustain with the media through a kind of intrapersonal dialogue, which could be related to characters, messages, or perhaps even media artifacts. This goes beyond what I set out to explore in this study, but, in trying to establish a communicative way that people interact with media, Lederman (1996) and L. C. Lederman et al. (2004) provide strong possibilities for further exploration.

In the more detailed discussion of the findings I provide in Chapter Four, it certainly was the case that media things (e.g., televisions, books, magazines) mattered in the confines of residents' rooms. For some, media kept them company. For others, it told at least a part of the story of who they are. In his discussions of how one type of media (a book) could be conceptualized as an expression of self, Meyrowitz (1985) said

As an object, a book is more than a medium of communication, it is also an artifact and a possession. As such, it serves not only as a channel to provide information but also as a symbol of self and identity. Just as we choose styles of clothing not for utility alone, so do we choose books that "appropriately" project our image and sense of group affiliations. (p. 83)

Like a book, other communication media, such as television, radio, magazines, newspapers, project symbols of self and identity. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981) discussed things as being linked to a person's memories, present experiences, and future dreams. This echoes the point made in Adelman and Frey's (1997) discussions of how some members of the group they studied would "remember" (Myeroff, 1982) things just prior to their deaths. One example Adelman and Frey wrote about was of a Native American resident who began leaving things at the doors of fellow residents, in what Adelman and Frey described as an unspoken gesture of leave-taking. Adelman and Frey discussed this behavior: "Possessions become part of the collective memory, incorporating the deceased into the community culture. They trigger stories and are tangible legacies of incidents and the personalities of those who have passed" (1997, p. 97). While I haven't witnessed this kind of practice at Casa Albergues (in fact, no one has died since I began my research there), I do argue that the essence of what Adelman and Frey discussed is embodied in those things, media among them, that matter for residents in their rooms.

Chapter Summation

I see the literature from community, communication, ethnography of communication, and a constructivist viewpoint on media research, as blending together for capturing the complex essence of how individuals and groups negotiate daily life

In this literature review, I have sought to account for the following factors as they relate to my case study: (a) a way to assess and/or evaluate community and/or a sense of community, (b) how people construct, sustain, and reinforce relationships to others via their communication, (c) how to gain insights into a group through their patterns of communication, and (d) ways in which a particular group of people perhaps use media to articulate where they stand in relationship to others.

Simply put, people *do* things when they come into interaction. By looking at patterns of communication, a researcher can gain insights into a community and its members. And, by an in-depth analysis of these patterns, one can begin to grasp the mutual influence that occurs between the individual and/or the group in relation to the social context within which they find themselves.

The research questions I posed for this study provided a directional framework for looking at a particular set of issues, as they were embedded in patterns of communication at Casa Albergues. In some small way, I hope that what is learned from my study will fill a gap in the literature that has gone largely unexplored: connections between communication and community as they relate to the combined commonalities of a Latino cultural experience and having HIV/AIDS.

The next chapter presents the methodology I used in my study of Casa Albergues. I begin with a review of the particular research tradition that framed the research methods I chose. I continue with a discussion of the specific research methods and tools I used in the collection and analysis of data.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Using Qualitative Research

Introduction

This study rests in a research tradition that provides the deep exploration of social life and phenomena. Numerous scholars have provided perspectives on how to conceptualize and do qualitative study (e.g., Briggs, 1986, Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, Lofland & Lofland, 1995, Maxwell, 1996, Spradley, 1979). The work of Strauss and Corbin (1990) is especially useful because it described the inductive nature of creating grounded theory through a systematic process of looking at what the social phenomenon represents. While it was not my intent to create grounded theory, I did come to a keener understanding of the inductive nature of qualitative research in the creation of theory and also in the formation of a research approach and design.

In addressing the question of why to choose qualitative research, Strauss and Corbin (1990) wrote:

Some areas of study naturally lend themselves more to qualitative types of research, for instance, research that attempts to uncover the nature of a persons' experiences with a phenomenon, like illness, religious conversion, or addiction. Qualitative methods can be used to uncover and understand what lies behind any phenomenon about which little is yet known. It can be used to gain novel and fresh slants on things about which quite a bit is already known. Also, qualitative methods can give the intricate details of phenomena that are difficult to convey with quantitative methods. (p. 19)

Qualitative researchers have choices about the social and/or cultural context in which they can engage in their inquiries. Depending on what the researcher wants to learn and what the social phenomena can potentially reveal, qualitative inquiry can take on such forms as interviews outside the context of any particular social setting or observations of people in simulated circumstances. One qualitative approach that focuses on the natural activity arenas for those being studied is naturalistic inquiry (e.g., Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, Spradley, 1979, Van Maanen, 1988). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) wrote that naturalistic approaches involve researchers studying people and objects in their natural settings and "attempting to make sense out of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 3). One way that scholars have studied natural settings is through ethnography.

An Ethnographic Approach in a Natural Setting

Spradley (1979) emphasized that "ethnography is the work of describing a culture" (p. 3) and in so doing, one takes "the first step in understanding the human species" (p. 10). Agar (1986) wrote that ethnographic work "requires an intensive personal involvement, an abandonment of traditional scientific control, an improvisational style to meet situations not of the researcher's making, and an ability to learn from a long series of mistakes" (p. 12). Numerous others (e.g., Clair, 2003, Denzin, 1997, Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Prus, 1996, Rock, 2001, Schwandt, 1990, Skeggs, 2001, Van Maanen, 1988) have presented ways in which to understand and use ethnographic methods in social settings. Seeking to clarify the complex process of doing ethnographic research, Van Maanen (1988) proposed that one must consider the following:

(1) the assumed relationship between culture and behavior (the observed), (2) the experiences of the fieldworker (the observer), (3) the representational style selected to join the observer and observed (the tale), and (4) the role of the reader engaged in the active reconstruction of the tale (the audience). (p. xi)

Van Maanen (1988) suggested that ethnographies are documents that pose questions in the margins between two cultures: the world of the ethnographer and the readers of the ethnography and the world of the cultural members (sometimes the readers, but typically not the targeted ones). In his discussions of cultural analysis, Geertz (1973) stated: "Cultural analysis is (or should be) guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses, not discovering the Continent of Meaning and mapping out its bodiless landscape" (p. 20). "The ethnographer 'inscribes social discourse, he writes it down. In so doing, he turns it from a passing event, which exists only in its own moment of occurrence, into an account, which exists in its inscriptions and can be reconsulted'" (Geertz, 1973, p. 19). These perspectives offer a baseline approach for considering the depth of the inquiry and the unique analytic opportunities afforded by the settings for qualitative and/or ethnographic studies. For my study, I found that principles from ethnographic and naturalistic approaches blended into the design of an ethnographic case study.

Overall Vantage Point for Viewing the Case at Casa Albergues

The ethnographic case study I completed at Casa Albergues was a look at a unique, bounded system, which Stake (1998) identified as important for the "intrinsic study of a valued particular" (p. 91). Throughout the process of investigation, I

"progressively focused" (Parlett & Hamilton, 1976, cited in Stake, 1995) the study by tracking patterns of communication as made more evident through the lens of ethnography of communication (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992, Hymes, 1974, Keating, 2001, Saville-Troike, 1989). To this end, I observed and participated (in a later section, I offer discussion of my role and activities as a participant observer [Spradley, 1980]) in different aspects of the case to better understand some of how the membership of the case saw things from their multiple positions within the group (Stake). I understood that a significant aspect of case study research is its intuitive nature and the focus on interpretations the researcher makes about how "actors" in the case see things (Stake, 1995).

I viewed Casa Albergues as an intrinsic case study (Stake, 1998) in that I wanted to understand this particular case because the case in and of itself was of interest. I gathered thick data (Geertz, 1973) for an in-depth understanding of Casa Albergues. The intent of the study was not to generalize to a population of cases; rather, I sought to represent the case at Casa Albergues by employing what Stake (1998) described as an ethnographic ethos of interpretive study, creating the context where the case could tell at least a part of its own story.

First Contact with Casa Albergues

I first came in contact with Casa Albergues through exploratory calls I made to different health-related organizations in a large, northeastern city that provided services for Latinos with HIV/AIDS. I had acquired a listing of these organizations and their contact information from a newsletter I had received from a community center that served mostly lesbian, gay, transgendered, and bisexual Latinos. The

initial impetus for the calls was two-fold (a) I wanted to explore the possibilities of doing an in-depth analysis of HIV/AIDS in a social context that involved a Latino group. Overall, I thought that by doing so I could potentially add insight into the kind of care a particular group was receiving and perhaps reveal additional information about the kinds of care they most needed, and (b) Because I knew that I wanted to do an ethnographic study and spend an extended time period in the field, I determined that a residential support facility, much like the one in Adelman and Frey's (1997) study, would present at least one possibility for doing the kind of research I found key to gaining in-depth insights into the lives of a particular Latino group living with HIV/AIDS. Hence, the main question I asked when calling the different organizations was if they knew of a residential facility that worked with a predominately Latino group. In these initial calls, I had no idea whether I would find such a place as Casa Albergues. It was during the second or third call that I first learned about Casa Albergues.

The first person I spoke to at Casa Albergues was the Office Manager, whom I will call Frederico. As I mentioned earlier, all names in this case study are pseudonyms to protect the privacy of the individuals I studied. Through Frederico, I arranged my first visit to the house and scheduled a meeting with the Executive Director, Salvatore, for April 2, 2002. During the first meeting I had with Salvatore, we spoke at length about the house and services provided there and he agreed that I could explore the possibility of doing an in-depth study of Casa Albergues. After a variety of consultations with faculty at Rutgers University, I drafted a preliminary

research plan. Soon thereafter, I received written permission from Salvadore to pursue a study at Casa Albergues

History, Structure, and Purpose of Casa Albergues

This section begins by describing Casa Albergues. The basis for these discussions was derived from fieldnotes, interviews, and archival data. I discuss each of my methods and how I collected and analyzed data presently. I provide this background discussion here so as to avoid talking about Casa Albergues in the abstract, as I later detail what I did there. Unless otherwise noted, when I refer to Casa Albergues I am referring to the total facility, which includes both a residential house and an office space. The house and the office are located about a two minute walk from one another. They sit on the same side of the street and one needs to cross an intersection to get between the locations.

Casa Albergues was established in 1995 and incorporated as a non-profit entity in 1997. Casa Albergues grew out of services being provided through a local mission. The mission, run through a Catholic Church, was an outreach service whose original purpose was to provide food for homeless people. Increasingly, the leadership and members of the church found that they were assisting people who showed noticeable and similar signs of physical distress. Learning that these people had AIDS, volunteers at the shelter reached out to the parish leader and asked him to provide additional and focused care for this particular group. The kind of care provided by Casa Albergues has evolved in a way that is reflective of the changing nature of HIV/AIDS care in general. While never officially a hospice, Casa Albergues did, in its early years, serve as a place where people could stay during the

final stages of their lives. Due to advances in medical treatments resulting in people living longer with HIV/AIDS, Casa Albergues has become a place that provides both transitional and permanent housing for up to 21 people. With the completion of recent construction adding new residential rooms, this number will increase to 27. The projected date to have the new rooms filled is by January 2005.

To live in the house, residents must sign a one-year lease. The Office Manager told me that every resident has his or her rent paid by one of two groups: (a) 52% of residents who are documented receive money from a federal organization, and the (b) 48% who are undocumented receive money from a city agency. Rent, which averages \$550 per month, covers a variety of services. These services include (a) case management (i.e., helping residents work with any additional financial or medical benefits they may receive from federal or state sources), (b) medical care evaluation and coordination (i.e., these are services provided by an on-site nurse, which include helping residents to secure medicines from local pharmacies, daily checks of residents' health as needed, follow-up with residents' doctors, and medication reminders), (c) personal care to assist residents with activities of daily living (e.g., the provision of food 3-meals per day and a cleaning staff for the common areas), (d) substance abuse counseling; (e) pastoral care (e.g., meeting with a member of the Church to discuss faith-related issues), (f) structured recreational activities; (g) guidance in transitioning to independent living, and (h) transportation (i.e., the provision of public transportation transit passes for doctor's visits and other health-related issues).

For the year 2004-2005, Casa Albergues has an operating budget of \$718,568. The bulk of this money (\$562,500) comes from federal and state funding sources. Rental income makes up the next largest amount (\$124,668). Casa Albergues also received two donations (\$31,400). Staff salaries make up the largest percentage of budget expenditures at 55.1%, followed by fringe benefits at 13.2%. The remaining budget expenditures range from 1.4% for auditing to 10.9% for "other" (e.g., utilities, supplies, maintenance) with 7.1% of the total budget going to food services. Casa Albergues leases the residential facility from the church. The church, in turn, donates about 75% of this money back to Casa Albergues. Casa Albergues reports to an outside regional board that serves as an agent for the distribution and management of federal monies. Twice per year, this group checks on whether Casa Albergues is meeting its social/organizational obligations (e.g., documentation of outreach and recruitment activities, monthly house meetings, documentation of client participation in house activities). Once per year, Casa Albergues is subject to a complete financial audit by the same group.

The Residents at Casa Albergues

At the time I wrote this, there were 19 residents living in Casa Albergues. With 19 residents, Casa Albergues, in this instance, was two short of the maximum number of residents who could live in the house. Due to resident turnover, it was not unusual for there to be a few rooms empty in the house. Emptied rooms tended to be filled by new residents within a few days or weeks.

The 19 person residential group mentioned above could roughly be divided into 25% who lived there for 4-5 years, 20% for 2-3 years, and 55% for

approximately one year. The ages of current residents at Casa Albergues range from 27 to 64. The current residents are from Chile, Colombia, Honduras, Panama, Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, Dominican Republic, Trinidad, the United States, and Venezuela.

On average, 90% of the residents are men. Since 1995, Casa Albergues has housed a total of 155 residents (82% Latino, 15% Black, and 3% White) from 23 different countries. Seventy-four percent of this total group had studied at high school or a higher level; twenty-six percent had received no conventional education. Currently, about 40% of the men that live in Casa Albergues self-identify as gay. The highest number of women I have known to live in the house at one time is three. During my final six months at Casa Albergues, only one woman lived in the residence for the total time period.

The most recent data I have shows that only four residents are currently working. In conversations I had with the Office Manager, I was told that no resident in Casa Albergues works full-time. During the day, most residents pass their time in their private rooms. The exceptions to this are meal times, house meeting times, and when the Activities Coordinator sponsors some kind of recreational activity (e.g., Bingo or trips to the movies or a park). The Activities Coordinator sponsors 3-5 activities per week and has varying levels of success getting residents to participate. The health status of residents ranges from very sick (where they rarely leave their rooms) to very vibrant and healthy, and many variations in between.

Some residents do have active social lives outside the house. The group I found who had the most active social life was the openly gay men living in the house.

They, like all the residents, seemed to spend the majority of their time in their private rooms. That being said, I also found that it was the gay men who most often went to other support groups outside Casa Albergues and had friends outside the house. While I never found it to be the case that the gay men formed an organized sub-group at Casa Albergues, I did find that they connected with each other in and around the commonality of their sexual orientation. The ways in which I evidenced this was in how the gay men used language to connect themselves to other gay men (I discuss this more in Chapter Four) in different social contexts, and in how small groups of gay men (it was rarely the same group) would eat together and/or I would see them watching TV together.

While it is clear from the demographic information I provided that not all residents at Casa Albergues are Latino, the social support network at Casa Albergues has emerged as one in which the dominant language spoken is Spanish. In addition, most of the food served at meal times has roots in Latin American cuisine and most music in the common room and television programming is in Spanish. If caregivers are bilingual, Spanish is the first language spoken and English is the second language. Every member of the staff, whether professional or service oriented, speaks Spanish as his/her first language.

New residents typically find Casa Albergues through referrals from local clinics and hospitals and are interviewed by the staff to assess their fit with the community. This "fit" seems to be mostly determined by whether or not the potential resident would be comfortable living among a group that has a strong emphasis on "things" Latino and whether or not he or she would be able to abide by the rules of

the house. Some of the rules are: (a) being in the residence by 11:00 p.m. each day, (b) attending mandatory Tuesday afternoon meetings and an end-of-the-month house meeting; (c) no smoking inside rooms or inside the house, nor using any other kind of drug or alcohol on the premises, (d) no visitors in the rooms after 9:00 p.m., and (e) not having room doors closed while outside visitors are inside their rooms.

Additionally, as a way to ensure fit, potential residents are told that gay men make up a large share of the total resident population. I have heard it described by the staff that on almost every occasion new residents will agree to all rules, especially if their physical health is poor, and once "in" for a time period will want to change the rules.

The Staff at Casa Albergues

Casa Albergues has eight full-time, professional staff members including the Executive Director, Office Manager, Drug and Alcohol Counselor, Activities Coordinator, Medical Coordinator, Supervisor, and Case Manager (2). Within this group, everyone reports directly to the Executive Director, Salvatore. I have witnessed circumstances where Salvatore has requested that both staff and residents go through the Office Manager, Federico, on some issues, especially as it related to residents working through the Supervisor (this staff member is in the house, the others mentioned above are in the office) and bringing issues/problems to her first. The expectation was that she would then pass these concerns along to the Office Manager and he would speak to Salvatore. This was the only instance where I saw a reporting structure other than the one I described above. In later conversations I had with Federico, he told me that he has no direct supervisory responsibility for the

Supervisor No staff member, whether full-time or part-time, actually lives in the house.

In addition to the professional staff, there are those who work full time in food preparation for the house [2], and in its maintenance/cleaning [1] In addition, there are two part time supervisors in the house. There is not really a volunteer presence at Casa Albergues. From time to time, there are volunteers who are largely recruited from the same Catholic Church whose outreach program served as the foundation for Casa Albergues. The volunteers are recruited mostly by the church's pastor in announcements he makes during services in which he asks the congregation to contact the Casa Albergues office to learn more about providing assistance. The role of volunteers recruited from the church is mainly to stop by the house and visit with residents. There is one regular volunteer who prepares a dessert for residents every Wednesday evening. Of the volunteers I have seen at Casa Albergues, all have been Latino. Beyond volunteers recruited from the church, the only other volunteers I have seen are people recruited by the Activities Coordinator to help with an activity.

All of the staff are either from Latin American countries or from the Caribbean. The three staff members whom I would consider to be the most influential in the leadership and management of the house, and Casa Albergues in general, are the Executive Director, the Office Manager, and the Activities Coordinator. All three are from the same South American country, Chile. None of the staff speaks English as their first language. I know of only two from the total staff who are gay. The staff members who are gay, the Office Manager and a Supervisor for Outreach Programs (part time), work in the office and have very little contact with

the day-to-day operation of the house. Most employees who work in the office have completed or have some college education. The staff members who work in the house (with the exception of the Medical Coordinator) have had no advanced education. Except for the Drug and Alcohol Counselor and the Activities Coordinator, all staff in the office are men. In the house, excluding the maintenance worker, all staff are women.

Description of the Office Space

The office for Casa Albergues is located about a half block away from the actual residential facility. There is nothing to suggest that the office is an office or that it is connected to Casa Albergues. The building number "247" above the door is the only identifier that would let a new visitor know he or she had arrived to the correct address. The windows of the office are kept covered at all times by blinds and there is no doorbell. To gain the attention of those inside, one must knock directly on the window or glass door.

The inside of the office provides a space for each member of the professional staff. Immediately beyond the entrance door and to the right is a small, enclosed space for the Office Manager. Directly across from his space is the desk for the Volunteer Coordinator. The next desk, along the same wall as the Volunteer Coordinator, is the desk for the Activities Coordinator. Right next to the desk of the Activities Coordinator is Salvadore's office, which is a walled space. Along the same side of the wall of the Office Manager are desks for the Drug and Alcohol Counselor, the staff member that works with off-site clients, and in the very back, behind the office of the Executive Director is an office for the Nurse. All the people, desks,

office equipment (e.g., computers, printers, copier machine, etc.) fit into a total space that is at most 600 square feet.

The few walls that separate spaces are little more than dividers. In other words, there is virtually no privacy for any member of the staff. The most private space is that of the Executive Director, but he is in such close proximity to everyone else that his voice is clearly heard through the closed door and through the small window that faces the walkway leading to the back of the office.

Description of the Residential Facility

In this section, I provide a description of Casa Albergues as I first encountered it, followed by an explanation of how the interior and exterior of the house has changed over the past year and a half. Major renovations of the house began in late summer 2003. As a result, the entrance and most of the downstairs areas have been changed dramatically. Renovations increased the number of residents who can live in the house, changed traffic patterns, and transformed the “feel” of the entrance. I discuss these changes in more detail after I provide information about my first observations of the residential facility.

In my first visit to Casa Albergues, I noted that one of the most noticeable features of Casa Albergues was that it looked nothing like the surrounding homes. Its three-story, yellow brick, institutional boxy shape seemed out of sync with the brick and brownstone homes to its left and right. I learned that the house was originally built and used as a convent. Like the office, the entrance to the house was completely nondescript. There was no sign identifying the house by name or as having any kind of affiliation. A few steps led up to a solid gray metal front door. A small

handwritten note reading "bell." next to one of two doorbells to the right of the door, let anyone visiting know how to gain entrance. That day and all subsequent days I rang the doorbell, there would be a period of waiting for someone to arrive and open the door. I always found this to be a bit disconcerting because neither could I hear the bell ring, nor could I hear inside the house to know if someone was on his or her way to the door. The door would just eventually open. Most of the time, it was a resident who came to the door. I saw the absence of any kind of signage at the residential facility as simultaneously foreboding (initially at least) and hinting at concerns related to the house's privacy.

Immediately past the front door and to the right was an office that the nurse (Medical Coordinator) and Supervisor shared. A few paces down the hallway and to the left was a small chapel. Outside the chapel was a bulletin board with a variety of different announcements and notices related to health issues and meetings. Buried under the flyers, were some sketchings that I was told some residents had done. These were not visible without moving a number of flyers.

Around the corner from the chapel was a dining room. This room had two long tables and about six chairs around each, a water cooler, a refrigerator, and a tall stand with a TV on top. Immediately next to the dining room was the kitchen.

The basement of the building had an office for the Drug and Alcohol Counselor, an office for a second nurse, a conference type room, and a small laundry room. The second and third floors served as the residential areas. Each floor had nine rooms and one bathroom. Rooms were set to the left and right of a central

hallway. There was also a small, rarely-used outdoor space to the side of the building.

The New Physical Configuration of Casa Albergues

Since construction began in the fall 2003, the physical structure of Casa Albergues has changed dramatically. Basically, the building has been expanded to one side and the downstairs area has been completely redesigned. There is a new entrance to the left of the old entrance that has windows and an office for the nurse and supervisor. This office is immediately to the right as you walk in. While there is still no sign identifying the house, the entrance, in general, is less foreboding and more open.

What used to be the first floor now has a completely re-designed chapel and residential space for eight additional people. As well, there is now an elevator, which connects the downstairs area with the first floor.

The downstairs area now has (a) a much larger and more modern kitchen, (b) a dining room, (c) a lounge type space with a TV, couches, and radio, (d) a conference/meeting room that remains locked, (e) a bathroom that is for use by staff members only, (f) a small area off the kitchen with a refrigerator for use by the residents for food and/or medicine storage, and (g) a small laundry room. In addition, there is now a much nicer outdoor space behind the house that sometimes is used for planned BBQ's or other events implemented by the Activities Coordinator. I haven't noticed people using the outdoor space, even though they can now use it to smoke. In both the old and new physical house configurations, if a resident goes outside, he or

she tends to go to the front of the building (the street side) to smoke and/or take short walks

In both the old and new physical house configurations, each resident has his/her own room. The rooms are small and on the second and third floors of the house. The largest room I have seen has space on either side of the bed to walk as well as room for larger pieces of furniture like a full-size dresser, desk, and chair. All the other rooms I have been inside had only enough space for a twin size bed to be up against a wall and more modest versions of the furniture previously mentioned. Residents share common areas such as bathrooms, a dining room, a recreation area, and a chapel. In the upstairs living areas, residents' rooms sit along central hallways. Most of the time, doorways leading into the individual rooms remain shut.

Previous to the new part of the house being built, other than some enterprising residents that installed an air-conditioner in their own windows, there was no air conditioning in any part of the house. With the renovations, a major addition to the house has been the installation of central air for most new parts of the house, including the eight new residential rooms on the first floor. Beginning in January, people are going to begin moving into the eight available rooms. Some residents who live upstairs have been asked if they would like to move into these rooms. From what I have gathered, it seems as though only the most sick among the residents have this option. The idea is that the rooms downstairs are to house the residents in greater physical distress, since the space offers added comforts of the elevator and air-conditioning.

Preliminary Investigative Activities

Between April 2002 and December 2003, I engaged in a number of preliminary investigative activities. These activities were integral to the refinement of the research design and for identifying the kinds of issues I could gain deeper insights into at Casa Albergues. The following paragraph provides a summary of the time period I spent in preliminary investigations.

I observed and documented 10 social/recreational gatherings (i.e., trips to Atlantic City, a local zoo, a bowling alley, a circus, and a movie; parties for Halloween, Christmas, Valentine's Day, and the annual anniversary party celebrating the founding of Casa Albergues; and two afternoon Bingo games). In all, I spent 40 hours participating in the above activities. Additionally, I spent 20 hours in one-on-one conversations with: (a) individual residents (a total of seven separate conversations outside the context of group activities), (b) the previous and current Activities Coordinator, (c) the Executive Director of Casa Albergues, and (d) other staff members. These conversations occurred in one-on-one situations and were outside the context of house planned activity. The topics of these conversations included where residents and staff were from, what the staff members did for Casa Albergues, how long residents had lived in the house or how long staff had worked there, and what residents did for entertainment. I recorded as much of these conversations as possible in fieldnotes, which I discuss in much more detail in a later section. The purposes of these conversations were to create a stronger bond with the residents and staff and help me better understand the kinds of things they were interested in and assess my own fit within the group.

This preliminary work was part and parcel of helping me inductively come to understand what kinds of research questions it would be best to ask and, through those, what I could learn from and about the group of people living and working at Casa Albergues. Through preliminary observations and conversations, I increasingly found that I was looking at the relationships individuals had with one another and the transactional nature of their communication (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992, Mokros & Deetz, 1996, Wilmot, 1975). In these initial stages, I was gradually crafting a research design that took into account the uniqueness of the case and what it was/is communicating (Stake, 1995). In other words, as I progressively focused (Parlett & Hamilton, 1976, cited in Stake, 1995) the research agenda, preliminary data gathering and analysis was part of an inductive process (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) of coming to key conceptual transformations that brought me closer to understanding the case and the particularities of doing good case study research.

Formal Research at Casa Albergues

In December of 2003, I received approval by the Rutgers University Institutional Review Board (IRB) to go forward with formal study at Casa Albergues. The transition from preliminary study at Casa Albergues to formal study involved the following key elements: (a) I approached formal study with a set of research questions that had grown out of the inductive work completed during preliminary investigations, (b) I planned for the use of audio-taped interviewing as a research method (I discuss this in much greater detail in later pages of this Chapter), (c) I maximized the amount of time I spent at Casa Albergues each week in participant observation (I will discuss in much greater detail in later pages of this Chapter), and

(d) I framed what I could learn about patterns of communication through the theoretic lens of ethnography of communication

At the end of December 2003, the previous Activities Coordinator had left Casa Albergues. A new Activities Coordinator began in mid-March 2004. Between when I began formal research at Casa Albergues in February 2004 and when the new Activities Coordinator began in March 2004, I took a more active role in the planning and implementation of recreational activities. The decision to do this came about through conversations I had with the Executive Director. In considering how to naturally come to interact more regularly with the residents and staff and help with a pressing administrative need, Salvatore and I determined that my assistance in helping to plan activities would be of value for all involved. From mid-February to mid-March, I worked with two residents who were interested in planning house activities. The specific activities we planned were a birthday party, two Bingo nights, and a trip to a movie. These activities were similar to those planned by the previous Activities Coordinator. When the new Activities Coordinator began, I answered questions she had about the kinds of activities we had done, reinforced her idea to speak directly to residents about the kinds of activities they would like to see happen, and assisted her with the planning and implementation of her first events, which were a Bingo night and an off-site movie outing.

From February 2004 through May 2004, I averaged 12 hours per week at Casa Albergues. This time was spent as follows: (a) four hours per week in the preparation for and participation in weekly Bingo games, (b) four hours per week talking with residents in their rooms and/or in the common areas, and (c) four hours

per week going on off-site trips to concerts [2], movies [3], and a park [1] and/or participating in on site programs and meetings that included a Birthday Party, a Valentine's Day activity, a BBQ as well as house meetings [7]. From the beginning of April 2004 through mid-May 2004, I also spent an additional two hours per week at Casa Albergues teaching English.

Approaches Taken for Understanding the Case: Investigative Categories

To study the particular case at Casa Albergues, I used a combination of the following six investigative categories outlined by Stake (1995, p. 90): (a) the nature of the case, (b) its historical background, (c) the physical setting, (d) other contexts, including economic, political, legal, and aesthetic, (e) other cases through which this case is recognized, and (f) those informants through whom the case can be known.

I used four primary research methods in the gathering and recording of data to support each of these investigative categories: (a) participant observation (Spradley, 1980), (b) fieldnote journaling (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995; Spradley, 1980); (c) audio-taped interviews with staff, residents, and key informants (Spradley, 1979), and (d) collection of archival information about the history, structure, purpose, and support services offered at Casa Albergues.

In the following sections, I discuss each of these methods in detail. After I have explained how I used these methods, the next section details how the methods combined to offer insight into the investigative categories outlined by Stake (1995). In the final section of this chapter, I explain how I analyzed the data generated through research methods.

Participant Observation

I understood my role in the group to be a participant observer (Spradley, 1980). As I developed my techniques of inquiry, particularly as they related to self as the research instrument (Spradley, 1980), I was aware of the continuum of researcher roles as ranging from complete participant to complete observer or nonparticipant. Spradley offered the following table to explain this continuum (p. 58).

DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT	TYPE OF PARTICIPATION
High	Complete
	Active
	Moderate
Low	Passive
(No involvement)	Nonparticipation

In determining where I stood along this continuum, I found that it was a collaborative process between the needs and expectations of the research site and what I felt I needed to do to most effectively gather data. This was part of my development of self as the research instrument. Spradley (1980) discussed that the process of developing self as the research instrument is one in which the researcher increases his or her introspectiveness, wherein the researcher "checks-in" with self in his/her role as a participant observer to "understand new situations and to gain skill at following cultural rules" (p. 57). I tended to think of this process as an on-going intrapersonal conversation I had over the course of the study that allowed me to refine

how I, as the primary research instrument, could adapt research methods and approaches to gain ever deeper insights and conceptualizations about the case

Along Spradley's (1980) continuum, I most often fell into the area of a moderate participant in that "the ethnographer seeks to maintain a balance between being an insider and an outsider, between participation and observation" (p. 60). The strength of this approach was that it allowed me to gain deeper access to the daily activities of the residents and staff at Casa Albergues. To this end, I ate with the residents, I "hung-out," I talked about my life while I listened to stories about theirs, and I joined in teasing residents and was teased by them. Throughout these kinds of conversations, I used an ethnographic style of interviewing. Spradley (1979) suggested that we think of the ethnographic interview as a series of friendly conversations wherein the researcher gradually leads those with whom he or she is speaking into areas where they can provide deeper insights into the areas of concern for the speaker and/or the researcher.

This style of interviewing, in concert with my role as a participant observer, was key as I came to know the case better and began to identify issues I wanted to more deeply explore. Throughout the process of participant observation, I was simultaneously engaged in a process of constant comparative analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), wherein I was comparing those communication situations, events, and acts I was documenting to one another as they presented themselves. I discuss constant comparative analysis in much greater detail in my discussions of data analysis. I mention it now because it was through this on-going process of constant comparative analysis that I began work with three broad central categories (Strauss &

Corbin) that accounted for much of the data I was generating through participant observation. Strauss (1987) defined the criteria for choosing central categories with the following six points:

- 1 It must be central, that is, all other major categories can be related to it.
- 2 It must appear frequently in the data. This means that within all or almost all cases, there are indicators pointing to that concept.
- 3 The explanation that evolves by relating the categories is logical and consistent. There is no forcing the data.
- 4 The name or phrase used to describe the central category should be sufficiently abstract that it can be used to do research in other substantive areas, leading to the development of a more general theory.
- 5 As the concept is refined analytically through integration with other concepts, the theory grows in depth and explanatory power.
- 6 The concept is able to explain variation as well as the main point made by the data, that is, when conditions vary, the explanation still holds, although the way in which a phenomenon is expressed might look somewhat different. One also should be able to explain contradictory or alternative cases in terms of that central idea. (p. 36)

The central categories I used met each of the criteria defined by Strauss (1987). I reserve my discussion of the final central categories until the data analysis section of this chapter, but I offer that the earliest categories emerged around the following issues: (a) negotiations of sexual and masculine identities among residents, (b) negotiations of power and control among residents and between residents and

staff, and (c) a desire by residents to be a part of the group and/or not. As I explored these early ideas, I came to understand them as three central dialectic tensions among residents and/or between residents and staff that I later discuss.

The refinement of my central categories occurred through participant observation and later interviews with residents, staff, and key informants (which I discuss at length in a later section). In my role as a participant observer, I spoke with all the residents and staff as well as a number of volunteers. Time spent in conversation with different residents, staff, and/or volunteers varied depending on the relationship I was able to establish with the person and his/her interest in engaging in conversation. When I felt I needed to learn more about an individual and/or his/her role in the group, I added additional attention to my observations of this particular person and his/her interactions with others.

While it would have been nearly impossible to have gained the kind of in-depth information I gathered at Casa Albergues through nonparticipation, even as a moderate participant, it was a complex task to accurately record patterns of communication and interactions I had with others while in this role. Fieldnotes, about which I will discuss at length in the next section, provided the best way that I could capture and record data that I generated through participant observation. During all circumstances of participant observation, I carried a small notebook that I kept tucked in a pocket or a bag. As I continued to develop self as the research instrument, I became better at finding those moments in which I could "sneak" off and use this notebook to jot down those interactions I observed. As residents and staff became more accustomed to me being around, I would occasionally take notes while a

communication situation was occurring. For example, at the weekly Bingo games, I was able to participate in Bingo as a player and take notes while the games were played.

Some situations required that I shift from a more moderate participant role to those of active and passive types of participation. Spradley (1980) wrote that active participation is one where the "active participant seeks to *do* what other people are doing, not merely to gain acceptance, but to more fully learn the cultural rules for behavior" (p. 60). Spradley described passive participation as an approach where the ethnographer "is present at the scene of action but does not participate or interact with other people to any great extent" (1980, p. 59). Bingo is a good example of where I blended active participation and moderate participation along the continuum. By taking notes, I clearly established myself as somewhat of an outsider to the group (moderate participation) and simultaneously actively participated in the Bingo as a way to better understand the cultural rules that governed the communication events and acts I was recording.

The closest I came to passive participation along the continuum was in my participation at house meetings. At these meetings, I sought an unobtrusive physical location within the group so as to take notes and still see as many of the residents and staff as possible. On rare occasions, I was shifted away from this positioning on the continuum into a more moderate kind of participation. This shift along the continuum occurred if a member of the staff or a resident would call attention to me in the meeting. For example, I was occasionally asked by either a resident or a staff member to serve as a translator. Typically, this meant translating for one or two

residents at a time. On one occasion, I was asked to translate for the entire group comments that one resident made in English. Differences in these occurrences were in how far I would be shifted along the continuum. When I was just translating for one or two people, I could remain a fairly passive participant. On the occasion when I was translating for the entire group, I rose to the high-end of moderate participation.

I seriously took stock of my role as a participant observer and my degree of involvement in the group at Casa Albergues when I was asked by the Activities Coordinator to teach English as a second language. I accepted the invitation to teach because: (a) I learned that a few residents had spoken to members of the office staff and asked if I would do this; as a result, I weighed potential consequences of saying yes against possibly offending residents or the office staff by saying no, and (b) I thought that this was a nice opportunity to give something back to the group, especially if what I was able to contribute grew out of their particular needs. Additionally, I felt this experience offered me a unique opportunity to assess how a dramatic and unanticipated shift in my participation would impact my involvement in the case. I wanted to explore the teaching role as a way to further understand self as the research instrument. I also desired to see what I could learn from this particular vantage point within the group's membership.

As well, I saw teaching as a way to explore ideas related to participatory action research (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000), wherein I constructed the research process and transformed practices in a collaborative way with the research site and participants. In the decision to teach at Casa Albergues, I employed the self-reflective cycles summed up by Kemmis and McTaggart (2000): "planning a change,

acting and observing the process and consequences of the change, reflecting on these processes and consequences, and then replanning, acting and observing, reflecting, and so on ." (p. 595).

I took fieldnotes on what I learned through this planned change and found, from this re-positioning, that I came to understand a great deal more about the kinds of educational experience and interests different residents and staff had. This was helpful as I began to gain deeper insights into some of the relationships among residents and between residents and staff and how those could be somewhat contextualized by educational background and other social circumstances.

Overall, residents and staff who participated in the six week class seemed pleased with what they were learning. The same group came to the class on a regular basis. Outside of occasionally being called teacher or "profesor" the temporary role did not seem to have any negative consequence on my ability to continue my role as a more moderate participant. If anything, once I began teaching, I sensed a stronger sense of trust and comfort with my overall involvement at Casa Albergues. And I know that for at least one student, taking a class had special significance. He made the point of telling me that this was the first class of any type he had ever taken.

As far as how Spradley (1980) discussed complete participation, I never fully found myself engaging in participant observation at that level of the continuum. Spradley wrote that complete participation is most often evidenced when the researcher studies a social circumstance in which he or she is a regular participant. The closest I came to this type of situation and complete participation came when my personal life intersected with one resident outside the context of Casa Albergues.

This particular resident had been expressing romantic interest since February 2004. He did this through greeting cards, invitations to social events, and phone calls. I ran into this resident in a neighborhood bar that I occasionally frequent. That night, I found his behavior worthy of observing in this context for what it told me about how he would interact with me outside the context of the house, and how issues related to the house may manifest themselves in our interactions.

The best way I could describe how he treated me throughout the evening was as a jealous boyfriend. If I was speaking with someone, he would join the conversation. He increasingly upped the stakes as he tried to capture my wandering attention. One example of how he did this was when he took off his shirt and spoke to another man in direct view from where I was standing. My interpretation of his behavior was that he wanted to be noticed.

As I was leaving, he was standing out in front of the bar. He was very intoxicated and pointed out that it was after 1:00 a.m. (this was the summer weekend curfew time at Casa Albergues). He asked if he could come back to my place and spend the night. He told me that it was too late for him to return to Casa Albergues and that he had no money left for the night. When I refused to invite him to my home, he accused me of not caring about him. I walked away from the situation, but not before telling him that he was wrong in his accusations.

I provided this example of complete participation to show a variation of when an ordinary circumstance for me (going to a local bar) became a situation in which I collected data that related to my work at Casa Albergues. In this particular instance, I found that a house rule became the pretext for the resident asking if he could spend

the night in my house. While I do not take this particular conversation any further, I do want to point out that I found myself being drawn toward this end of the continuum not by choice, but rather by circumstance. It was also my decision to avoid this degree of participation as much as possible in order to maintain the best position for me to understand the questions I was exploring.

Fieldnotes

In the previous section, I discussed my role as a participant observer (Spradley, 1980). In this role, I immersed myself as much as possible in the interaction of the residents so as to gain fuller access for observation (Spradley, 1980). Participant observation suggests a deep involvement in the scene, one that peels back layers of cultural experience, while simultaneously bringing analysis to the new information generated. To this end, I made inferences about individual and group life at Casa Albergues through (a) what people said, (b) how they acted, and (c) the things/artifacts people used (Spradley, 1979).

As a participant observer, I paid close attention to the communication between different members of the group, my communication as embedded within these contexts, and group members' communication with those not part of the residential setting. To record these instances, I took fieldnotes. Spradley (1979) suggested taking fieldnotes in three parts: (a) condensed account, a summary of what actually occurred, (b) expanded account, a filling in of details, and (c) fieldnote journal, recording thoughts/reactions/ideas related to what is being learned. I followed Spradley's suggested approach in recording my fieldnotes. Immediately following any interaction and/or during it (when possible), I made notes that served to remind

me of what happened and what was said within the context of the interaction. When possible, I wrote down direct quotes. Afterward, as soon as possible, I would develop the notes by re-writing them into a more formal fieldnote journal. I divided the fieldnotes in this journal into three parts: (a) observations, (b) reactions/thoughts, and (c) deeper interpretations.

Interviewing Staff, Residents, and Key Informants

Beginning in June 2004 and ending in August 2004, I completed a series of interviews with select residents and staff members to gain deeper insight into what I had been learning through participant observation and as a way to further explore issues of interest raised through the research questions posed for this study. I completed a total of 16 audio-taped interviews. I selected residents and staff to interview based on what Glaser and Strauss (1967) called "theoretical sampling" (see also Strauss and Corbin, 1998). This approach provided a framework for making decisions about who was interviewed as case study research progressed (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). In other words, theoretical sampling is an inductive process wherein judgements about how and with whom to proceed with more in-depth interviews are made based on what is learned through on-going investigative activities. As I collected data through participant observation, fieldnote journaling, and gathered archival information (of which I discuss in the next section), I actively reviewed these materials to identify themes or ideas within the case that were important to pursue using interviewing as a research method.

Prior to conducting interviews, I created an interview guide that included information about the resident or staff member and the key issues I wanted to explore

with each person (I provide a summary version of this in Appendix A). The issues I chose to explore with residents and staff reflected attention to the following: (a) themes or ideas I found evidenced in the data that I wanted to pursue more in-depth, (b) residents or staff who I felt could offer insights into the issues I had identified as key, and (c) considerations of how research questions could be further explored through interviewing.

For audio-taped interviews, I used a “semi-directive” (Lederman, 1996) interview approach, wherein I set the interview agenda by beginning with open questions, related to the issues I identified as important to discuss with the interviewee, and then proceeded with more directive questions that pursued topics/issues that emerged out of the broader, open-ended questions. I chose this approach to allow for a greater sense of reflexivity throughout the overall interview, wherein the interaction was co-constructed by myself and the person I was interviewing (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

To begin each of the interviews, there were baseline questions I asked of each resident or staff. I had some additional baseline questions that I would ask at different points in the interview. I provided a list of these baseline questions in Appendix B. Other questions I asked in the interviews dealt with issues I had generated through what I wanted to know from the individual resident and/or I followed his/her lead by asking questions around the topics that they raised.

Prior to conducting all audio-taped interviews, I received signed consent to conduct the interview with each participant. I have included copies of these consent forms in their English and Spanish versions in Appendix C.

Key informants

Among those I interviewed, I identified those I thought would be good key informants. In his discussions of informants, Denzin (1970) captured the essence of how I understood the role of key informants in the research process. Denzin wrote

The primary functions of the informant are to act as a *de facto* observer for the investigator; provide a unique inside perspective on events that the investigator is still "outside" of; serve as a "sounding board" for insights, propositions, and hypotheses developed by the investigator; open otherwise closed doors and avenues to situations and persons, and act as a respondent (p. 202)

Key informants helped me to gain a native understanding of the cultural scene (Spradley, 1979). I had two key informants who were the Office Manager, Frederico, and the Activities Coordinator, Susanna. I conducted an audio-taped interview with both Frederico and Susanna. Of equal importance was the on-going key informant role they played in the many different interactions I had with them. Over the course of the study, I came to trust greatly their perspectives and insights into case.

Both the Office Manager and the Activities Coordinator were intimately involved in the day-to-day operation of the house and office, and were familiar with the rhythm and needs of residents and staff. In both the audio-taped interview and throughout my on-going interactions, I was able to ask them questions that would fill in the gaps of what was happening in Casa Albergues between visits and/or I could seek clarification on issues I witnessed in any of the communication situations, events, or acts I was observing.

Additionally, Susanna and Frederico helped me to have greater access to the inside workings of the house by inviting me to participate in meetings and house activities that would otherwise only be for residents and/or residents and staff. Frederico was especially helpful in making sure that I had access to private, archival information about Casa Albergues.

Collection of Archival Information/Documentation

Throughout my time at Casa Albergues, I collected information and documentation about the history, purpose/goals, finances, and staffing. I collected this archival data for the following reasons: (a) to provide background, historical information about the case (Stake, 1995); (b) to gain insight into how the administration of Casa Albergues communicated with inside and outside publics, (c) to see the kinds of activities/events the previous Activities Coordinator had planned and to review her evaluation of these, and (d) to more deeply understand the nature of the case as a whole (Stake, 1995). I collected archival data in two primary ways. First, I determined, through a review of fieldnotes, what I needed to know about the overall case to better understand its inner workings. To this end, I requested documentation from the Office Manager about internal reports, communication with internal/external publics, finances/budget, personal information about residents, and, on one occasion, I asked for a key piece of internal communication between residents and the Executive Director. The second way I collected archival data was to gather it as it was given to me in various meetings and/or house activities. Namely, these pieces of archival data were two house newsletters.

A listing of this archival data in the order I collected it is as follows (a) a list of residents including their room phone numbers, and date admitted, (b) a list of residents including their country of origin, date of birth, and when they began living in the house, (c) a report of activities planned and evaluated by the Activities Coordinator from June 2002 – December 2003, (d) the first issue of the Casa Albergues newsletter dated May/June 2004, (e) personal communication from the Office Manager that included information about the organization, community served by Casa Albergues, purpose, and a general budget breakdown, (f) personal communication from the Office Manager in the form of a letter that the Executive Director had received from the residents about house services, and (g) the second issue of the Casa Albergues newsletter dated September/October 2004

In November 2004, I returned to the office of Casa Albergues to meet with Frederico to clarify a few questions I had. While there, I asked him for some additional pieces of archival data. The additional pieces of archival data I collected were as follows. (a) a complete budget breakdown, (b) off-site client list, (c) letters from funding organizations announcing reviews of Casa Albergues, and (d) a policies and procedures manual, which includes the bulk of all internal documents Casa Albergues uses with its clients such as a lease, house rules, as well as job descriptions for the staff.

I had not collected this data prior to this point, mostly because I did not know I could ask for it. Previously, I would explain to Frederico the kind of information I was looking for and then take the information he provided as evidence of how deep into internal documentation he thought it was appropriate for me to have access. As a

resistant, my queries for information, while specific to some degree, I suspect had the feeling of open-endedness for him. For example, I would request information about the budget, but not make specific requests like, "Could I see an exact budget breakdown?" This did not lead to getting specific enough information and so I remedied the problem by being much more specific in the November meeting about the kinds of things I needed to complete my investigation.

I do want to note that through this process, I was seeing further evidence of the development of self as the instrument. At least some of how I approached the early collection of archival data was informed in part, I came to realize, by my own cultural upbringing and past interactions. By not being terribly specific in requesting what I viewed as sensitive information, I was predetermining what was perhaps "private" (e.g., salaries, benefits information), rather than asking for things and allowing those within the case to tell me what they could and could not tell me. On the other hand, I do think there is the right time to ask for the more private documentation of an organization. It's really about finding the balance of when that

18

Breakdown of Where Data Informed Investigative Categories

As a reminder, the investigative categories outlined by Stake (1995) were (a) the nature of the case, (b) the case's historical background, (c) the physical setting, (d) other contexts (e.g., economic, political, legal, and aesthetic), (e) other cases through which this case is recognized, and (f) those informants through whom the case can be known. In the following paragraphs, I offer a summary of which kinds of collected data supported these investigative categories.

The collection of archival data informed the following categories: (a) nature of the case, (b) historical background, and (c) other contexts, particularly those contexts relating to legal and economic concerns.

Data collected through audio-taped interviews was useful in adding insight into the categories of: (a) nature of the case, (b) historical background, (c) identifying those informants through whom the case could be known, and (d) other contexts, particularly as those contexts related to the immediate community surrounding Casa Albergues.

Fieldnote data supported all investigative categories except for category five, other cases through which this case is recognized. For this category, I used Adelman and Frey's (1997) study of a residential support facility for people living with HIV/AIDS to gain deeper insights into my case.

Data generated through participant observation offered information in the following categories: (a) nature of the case, (b) historical background, (c) physical setting, (d) other contexts, and (e) informants through whom the case could be known.

Data Analysis

This section offers explanation of how I analyzed data generated through my research methods. I begin with how I analyzed fieldnotes. Second, I discuss analysis of interview transcripts. Finally, I explain how I analyzed archival data. In all reporting and discussion of data, I used pseudonyms to protect the identity of both residents and staff members as well as of Casa Albergues.

In Chapter Four, Results and Discussion, I provide additional comments on the methods and discoveries I made while analyzing the data for each aspect of data that I chose to discuss. While I reviewed and analyzed all the data collected, I am reporting on aspects of it that most directly answered the research questions I set out to explore.

Analysis of Fieldnote Data

To analyze fieldnote data, I used constant comparative analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Strauss and Corbin spoke about comparisons in the following way:

Comparisons are additionally important because they enable identification of variations in the patterns to be found in the data. It is not just one form of a category or pattern in which we are interested but also how that pattern varies dimensionally, which is discerned through comparison of properties and dimensions under different conditions. Sometimes, those differences are immediately visible in our data. Other times, we have to theoretically sample, that is, purposely observe or interview while looking for instances of similarity or difference. (1998, p. 67)

This kind of comparative data analysis had synergy with the ethnography of communication in that a great deal of what I was looking for from this standpoint were patterns of communication, at varying levels of complexity, that had interplay between communicative situations, events, and acts (Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992, Hymes, 1972, Hymes, 1974, Keating, 2001).

Throughout the data collection process, intuitively and through review and analyses of fieldnotes, compared incidents by evaluating them in relation to one

another and creating categories among the incidents that I would then choose from in seeking additional insights through participant observation, interviewing, and/or speaking with my key informants. In other words, as an incident would present itself, I would follow-up on this with the resident or staff member that I thought could best help me to understand the incident and its subtext. I progressively focused on those incidents that I found to be central in understanding the case at Casa Albergues. As I came to know the case better, I classified these incidents into central categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) that emerged through the constant comparison of incidents to one another as evidenced in the patterns of communication I was studying. I came to understand these central categories as central tensions I increasingly found in patterns of communication at Casa Albergues. For example, I repeatedly witnessed and recorded situations where residents were angered by the house curfew. This was first placed into the category of "issues related to the house curfew." Through further analysis and decision-making about the data, this category was linked to what I saw as a broader category of residents' autonomy vs. staff control. This, in turn, was one of the central tensions I found most in evidence at Casa Albergues.

The final analysis of fieldnotes was an extension of an on-going process I engaged in throughout data collection, wherein I looked for categories as they presented themselves among fieldnote data. By reading and re-reading fieldnotes, I found patterns of communication and an organization to the data around the tensions I previously discussed. More specifically, the final process for analyzing fieldnote data occurred in six parts: (a) I made photocopies of each page of fieldnote data, (b) I coded each page of the data so I could mix the data, but still know to which fieldnote

journal it belonged and in what order, (c) I read the data over three times, (d) during the third read through, I began creating piles of related data, (e) I re-read data in these piles and began taking notes of themes touched on in each pile, and (f) I created outlines from which I could construct a discussion

Final analysis of fieldnotes, in concert with an analysis of interview transcripts (discussed next), revealed that central tensions existed around: (a) how residents negotiated individual and group identity, especially as identities related to sexuality and masculinity, (b) residents' desire to have a say in the day-to-day operation of the house and a desire by staff (namely, the Executive Director) to maintain and reinforce control, and (c) a more subtle tension in how residents dealt with issues of connection and disconnect with each other. I simplified these tensions into (a) individual identity vs. group identity, (b) residents' autonomy vs. staff control, and (c) a sense of connection vs. a sense of disconnect. In Chapter Four, Results and Discussion, I provide an in-depth discussion of these tensions and connect them to specific examples from the data.

Analysis of Interview Data

Eight of the interviews were with staff and eight were with residents. Except for three of the interviews, all were completed in Spanish. For the interviews completed in Spanish, I worked with an outside person to transcribe the interviews first into their original Spanish version and then this same person translated these transcripts into an English version. For the interviews completed in English, these interview tapes were transcribed by the same outside person. As a result, I ended up with a total of 29 transcripts (i.e., 13 in Spanish, 13 translated from Spanish to

English, and 3 in English only). I found someone early on who could do the transcribing, and this allowed me to take a look at the interviews within a few weeks of them being completed.

Once interview tapes were transcribed and translated (as needed), I analyzed this data using two primary techniques: (a) constant comparative analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) as discussed previously, and (b) categorical aggregation (Stake, 1995). In his discussions of direct interpretation or categorical aggregation, Stake said "Two strategic ways that researchers reach new meanings about cases are through the direct interpretation of the individual instance and through aggregation of instances until something can be said about them as a class" (1995, p. 74).

Overall, I found interview data most useful as a way to add additional explanation for some of the tensions I had identified in my analyses of fieldnote data. For this particular kind of study, foregrounding what I learned about patterns of communication through participant observation added strength to the findings as an ethnography of communication. I did not see interviews as patterns of communication in and of themselves, rather they provided insight into patterns I found in fieldnote data.

The specific steps I took in analyzing interview data was as follows: (a) I read all the transcripts at least three times, (b) I coded each page of each transcript so that I could separate the transcript as needed and still know with whom the interview was with, (c) I separated pages of the transcripts into multiple groupings (some pages appeared in more than one grouping) that had connecting themes/ideas, (d) I grouped these pages with specific instances I had recorded, analyzed, and planned to discuss

from fieldnotes, and (e) I chose which parts of the transcripts to use in my discussion, which offered the best insights into patterns of communication and central tensions I had identified through participant observation and an analysis of fieldnote data.

Additionally, categorical aggregation unearthed a class of instances around how residents and staff talked about Casa Albergues in interview data. In my analysis of these instances I: (a) used a marker to highlight the different ways residents and staff described Casa Albergues in the transcripts, (b) made a chart displaying these descriptions and noting how many times residents and staff described Casa Albergues as such, and (c) prepared an outline for discussion.

Analysis of Archival Information/Documentation

To analyze the archival data, I used a process outlined by Miles and Huberman (1984) by: (a) reducing the data in such a way as to focus on key patterns among the information, (b) displaying the data so as to visually arrange any trends/patterns that were present, and (c) drawing conclusions from the trends/patterns I found in these processes.

More specifically, I engaged in the following activities in my analysis: (a) I read each piece of the archival data at least three times, (b) I looked for instances when pieces of data related to another, (c) When pieces related, I looked for any variations in the consistency of the information provided across the pieces, (d) If there were inconsistencies, I reviewed fieldnotes to determine if I had any information that could help clarify the information. If I didn't have the information in my fieldnotes, I would speak to one of my key informants about the inconsistency to get clarification, (e) I laid out these pieces of data on a table to visually assess a

chronological relationship among the data, and (f) prepared an outline for discussing this data

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

I have organized this chapter around my research questions. The basis for my discussions were formulated through careful analysis of fieldnotes, interview data, and archival data. In choices I made about presenting the data, I wanted to accomplish two things: (a) to give insights into typical patterns of communication evidenced at Casa Albergues, and (b) to provide in-depth detail on communication events and acts that I saw as providing deeper insights into the case as a whole.

Through an in-depth analysis of patterns of communication at Casa Albergues, dialectic tensions between residents and among residents and staff emerged as central for understanding the case at Casa Albergues. The tensions I saw most evidenced and important to discuss echoed certain tensions that Adelman and Frey (1994) found in their study of Bonaventure House. Namely, these tensions were: (a) individual identity vs. group identity, (b) residents' autonomy vs. staff control, and (c) a sense of connection vs. a sense of disconnect.

I conclude the chapter with a discussion of these tensions and their implications for my research questions.

RQ 1 How does communication function to create or impede community and/or a sense of community within the context of a shared residential facility for Latino people dealing with HIV/AIDS?

A Sense of Connection vs. A Sense of Disconnect

In the literature review, I laid out three things I saw as important for community or a sense of community. These were: (a) a sense of "we-ness," (b) a strong affective tie, and (c) a commitment to constructing and sustaining relationships with others. Here, I begin the process of showing how communication, as it was constructed among residents and staff at Casa Albergues, occasionally would enact a sense of we-ness, but more often than not, patterns of communication at Casa Albergues revealed few strong affective ties, or any serious commitment to sustaining relationships with others.

I chose to establish my version of a sense of connection vs. a sense of disconnect over Adelman and Frey's (1994) attachment vs. detachment, because some residents at Casa Albergues seemed to want to connect with others, but when their efforts were not met with positive reinforcement from others (i.e., residents and/or staff), this led to a greater sense of disconnect in general. In discussing attachment vs. detachment, Adelman and Frey focused on the impending loss that people risked in establishing relationships with others that had HIV/AIDS. They found that residents in Bonaventure House avoided attachment as a way to protect themselves from the pain of losing someone close, choosing a kind of detachment as a coping strategy.

A part of why I didn't see this particular tension among residents at Casa Albergues was because treatment for HIV AIDS has changed dramatically since Adelman and Frey (1997) completed their study in the mid-nineties. At least in the U.S., people with AIDS are living much longer with the disease and have had to re-imagine the outcomes of this in relation to their lives.

I begin with a discussion of the dining room. This space has the highest traffic volume in the house, and presented the best vantage point from which to view the case. More specifically, data from the dining room provided insights into the patterns of communication, such that I was able to extensively document how they negotiated this shared space through their communication. In discussing the dining room, I first discuss it as it is most commonly used, as a place to eat. Then, I provide detail on some of the other activities that happened in this shared space.

Common Areas at Casa Albergues

Dining Room as a Place to Eat and Meet

Outside of the bathrooms and hallways on the upper floors, the dining area is the most used common space. This has remained the same between the old and new house configurations. Meals are provided in the dining room three times a day (early morning, noon, and early evening). Meals are served buffet style and residents have 1 ½ hours to eat. There are no formal group rituals that occur around the meals (e.g., no prayers).

In the dining room, there are two long tables with 6-8 chairs surrounding each table. There is also a smaller service table that has condiments, a coffee machine, plastic utensils, napkins, and plastic cups. There is also a water cooler in the room.

During mealtimes, some residents come downstairs, eat and immediately return to their rooms. Others use their time in the dining room to socialize and, in the case of the old dining room, to watch TV. The new dining room does not have a TV. Occasionally, I have seen residents come downstairs, get their food, and return to their room to eat. While I have noticed this leave-taking behavior, I have not witnessed anyone comment positively or negatively. The rules of the house state that food is to be consumed in the dining room, except in the special circumstance of extreme illness. Based on my observations and talks with a key informant, I suspect the reasons why some residents may choose to eat in their room are (a) they feel ill and don't want to have to interact with anyone, or (b) there is someone in the dining room they are mad at and they don't want to have to eat in the same space as this other person. I provide examples of this shortly.

Tables in the new and old dining rooms served as a way to both separate and group residents. I have never seen the dining room completely full (as in all chairs occupied) during mealtimes. I have seen instances where there is a small group of residents at one table and the other table remains empty. It is in these instances that it was noticeable when a resident would get his/her food and go to sit at the empty table. I had never seen a situation when a group of residents at one table would invite a resident sitting alone to join their table.

I found these circumstances to be perplexing, but also telling of the ways in which individuals and groups of residents would, knowingly or not, exclude or include others. Certainly, it could be the case that some residents simply preferred to eat alone, but more often than not, I saw these instances as revealing how much some

residents didn't want to have anything to do with others. It has been the case in some situations of group life (Myerhoff 1978) that conflict between group members actually reinforced their connections to the group. I did not find this to be the case at Casa Albergues.

In both of these situations (i.e., the occasional resident taking his/her food to the room, and residents that would eat separately from others), a sense of connection vs. a sense of disconnect was evidenced in how some residents seemed to use their time in the dining room to "hang-out" with others, while others ate alone. Even when some residents would sit at the same table, I witnessed numerous occasions of them eating and having no conversation with others. This was in contrast to circumstances when one table was loud and raucous and, a few feet away, residents were eating in silence. When the TV was in the old dining room, those eating in silence would often direct their attention to whatever was on the TV. In these cases, I saw the TV used as a way in which people would disconnect from others in the room.

Dining Room as a Place to Party

When the old dining room was not in use as a place to eat, I have seen it used as a place to play board games (e.g., "Trouble" and "Scrabble"), have parties, watch movies, and hold meetings and classes. In my earlier investigations at Casa Albergues, parties in the old dining room, and one that I attended in the basement, often involved a drag show. The parties tended to be connected to a major holiday such as Halloween, Christmas, or Valentine's Day, as well as for end-of-the-month Birthday parties. As an example of a holiday party, a Valentine's Day event, which

included a drag pageant to select Miss Amistad (Miss Friendship) provides a good example

For this particular pageant, three of the male residents had spent most of the day in preparation to enter the beauty/talent/popularity contest. In this case, the "competition" aspect of the contest related to who could design the most extravagant costume and be perceived as the most "convincing" woman, while dancing and lip-synching their way through three popular Latin songs (each contestant had chosen his own songs). After each contestant performed "her" songs, the audience voted for the person they wanted to be Miss Amistad.

I believe the drag show could be simply a form of entertainment, a way for a number of residents and staff to get together and have some fun, or a way for some residents, who actually transformed themselves into alter egos like "Miss Peru!", to do something they might not do in other circumstances. Likewise, I suspect that for some, the act of participating in the event by watching or clapping was more than they would do in other contexts.

Another example of a holiday party was one I attended at Christmastime. The focus of this party was on a gift exchange between residents. Each resident had been asked if they wanted to participate in the exchange. If they wanted to participate they had to agree to bring a gift for the person whose name they drew from a hat. The majority of the residents participated and brought gifts, which they placed under a small Christmas tree. In the middle of the room hung a piñata in the shape of a star. Throughout the evening, there was salsa and merengue music playing.

Periodically one of the residents, Rafael, would go over to the tree and try to lay claim to one of the larger packages. This was always met with laughter and playful scolding. Before residents opened their gifts, there was a short presentation made to the person to whom the gift was being given. The person giving the gift would go to the tree and hold the gift that he or she had brought and tell a story or make some comments related to the person receiving the gift. This added to the suspense of who would be the gift recipient. Each time a gift was given, this act was met with applause. Rafael was thrilled when he got his gift and it was a small velvet bag full of coins and a few small bills.

After the gifts were given out, the evening continued with dancing until it came time to hit the piñata. One resident was in charge of manipulating the cord that raised the piñata up and down. A different resident was in charge of blindfolding people, giving them the stick to strike the piñata, and then spinning them in circles many times before allowing them to take a hit at the piñata. The goal in hitting the piñata was to break it so that whatever was inside would fall to the floor. Of course, it was a big deal to be the person who broke the piñata (i.e., providing the treats to the others).

After five or six residents had failed, one resident finally broke the piñata. When this happened, residents tumbled into a heap on the floor to grab the candy, peanuts, and other small prizes. Carlito grabbed a shoot of one of the stars, turned it upside down and began filling it with those things that he liked best. I made the mistake of reaching from behind him to take a closer look at what he had put in his shoot. All he saw was a hand coming toward his shoot and he pulled away instantly.

When he looked behind him and saw whose hand it was, he offered a closer inspection and a choice of treats. Carlito stayed around to clean up, but not before giving Enrique his treats to take upstairs.

The examples of these two parties provide a glimpse into the potential I saw in evidence for there being a sense of community at Casa Albergues. It was at these parties that I saw the communication of the group clearly articulating a sense of wellness and an affective tie based around expressions of goodwill and enthusiastic involvement in the groups' shared activities. In my examination of the data, these parties represented what I came to see as the most "community-like" I had ever seen the group at Casa Albergues. Both of these parties occurred during my first year of investigation. As my time at Casa Albergues progressed, and there were no more parties like these, I began to document residents' requests for the Activities Coordinator to plan a return of something that resembled these parties. Those residents making the requests seemed to especially want repeats of those parties with drag shows.

A Party! Can I Wear My Dress?

When I was assisting Casa Albergues with activities planning, at least three different residents approached me to mention the drag show party request. Since I knew the new Activities Coordinator, Susanna, was going to start work prior to when such a party could be thrown, I told the residents that I would speak to her about this and encouraged them to do the same. In March 2004, I talked to her about the residents' requests and she seemed to be okay, at least in our conversation, with throwing a party that would include a drag show. At the time of this June interview

with Susanna, a party including a drag show had not yet occurred and we had the following exchange about it

- BC: I know a couple of the residents mentioned to me back before you were starting that they wanted to do a party where they could have drag shows and do things like they'd done in the past. Have any of the residents approached you about doing that?
- Susanna: Angel.. But since Enrique left, it's going to be hard because he was the one kind of, more of a leader. I think I can do it. And, you know what? I feel like a lot of people will participate. And the ones that don't do it, I don't think that people will care too much about the ones that don't want to be involved with us doing that.

Susanna makes an important point here about Enrique moving out of the house. Indeed, Enrique was one of the residents who almost always participated in the drag shows at the past parties. The point that Susanna was not articulating, or perhaps didn't know, was that Enrique would work collaboratively with the past Activities Coordinator in planning the events, along with some of the other residents in the house. The deeper subtext I found in what Susanna was saying was that she wasn't going to go "out on a limb" and plan a party, if she did not have the support of some fairly strong leaders within the residential group. This made even more sense to me when I asked her a question about men wearing women's clothes in general around the house. Earlier in my investigations, this did not seem to be an issue. Then,

I began hearing from residents that it was an issue when Angel came downstairs in women's shoes. To Susanna, I framed a question about this by relaying that I had seen Angel walking about the house in February in heels and a dress, but that lately I had not observed him doing that. She responded:

Susanna. I think there was a problem with the Director

BC: Yes?

Susanna. The first day that I came to Casa Albergues, Angel was dressing like in this white, long dress. He was told by the person in charge of the house at that moment that he wasn't able to do that because if somebody from the neighborhood would see him, they would complain, or they would call attention to the house, and he [the Executive Director] didn't want those kinds of problems.

BC: Has that ever happened in the past?

Susanna. I don't know.

In Susanna describing "somebody from the neighborhood," she was referring to a community of neighbors—the Hasidim. In the case of Casa Albergues, it is physically bounded by the Hasidic community. I use the word "bounded" quite literally. Within a few doors away from Casa Albergues, in all directions, reside members of the Hasidic community. In his five-year study of a Hasidic neighborhood, Poll (1962) described the Hasidim as an ultrareligious Jewish group. He said, "The members of this group consider their goal in life to be the perpetuation of Jewish laws, practices, and observances, and their conduct is defined by extreme

religious dogma and principles" (Poll, 1962, p. 3). Poll described the Hasidic community he studied as opposed to American acculturation and as having built a "sociological wall" to protect them from encroachments on their cultural stability. One way that some Hasidic communities have maintained a sense of who they are is by walking a fine line between maintaining their ultraorthodox lifestyle and creating a localized economic system that is part of the American business world (Kranzler, 1995). While orthodox Jews can and do differ in many ways, in the sense I use ultraorthodox above, I am referring to a lifestyle, ideas, and customs that are informed by the acceptance of a code of Jewish law called the *Shulhan 'Arukh*, which informs the daily conduct of the practicing community (Meijers, 1986). In other words, the Hasidic community, which surrounds Casa Albergues, in many ways is a uniquely bounded system in and of itself, albeit spread over a fairly large geographical area.

The point I want to make is that a sense of connection vs. a sense of disconnect at Casa Albergues could be influenced by being surrounded by a community that is not residents' own. In my study, I focused my attention on what I could glean from how different residents and/or staff talked about the surrounding Hasidic community. In other words, it wasn't something I set out to explore, but I was prepared to do so if the story of the case as it was unfolding led me in that direction. In my frequent walks through the Hasidic community, I naturally made some of my own observations about the people who lived there. First, it was clear that they had their own way of life that was based around their own distinct rules and behaviors. I was never spoken to by any member of the community. I noticed that the Hasidic children would sometimes stare at the non-Hasidic person (including

myself), but they seemed to clearly know the boundary between staring and actually speaking to someone from the “outside.”

With regard to the Hasidic community, one thing that remained consistent in my observations at Casa Albergues was that the staff and residents almost never mentioned the Hasidim. There was one major exception. In my interview with Susanna, she made a comment that I found surprising and important to discuss as it relates to residents having a sense of connection vs. a sense of disconnect, namely as it relates to residents needing to know what to say about Casa Albergues, if they ended up talking to a Hasidic person. Susanna said

Susanna. The neighbors are really curious about Casa Albergues.

BC Are they? How do you know that?

Susanna. Because the same residents told me that the neighbors .they’re Jewish what is that religion?

BC Hasidic?

Susanna. Hasidic. And they cannot do anything on Saturday’s, right. So, a lot of [the] time they [have] asked residents for favors like turn[ing] on whatever, or get[ting] this [thing] that is downstairs. And [when residents] go inside the house, and they are [asked questions] like: Oh, do you live in that house next door? Yeah. What is it about? Who lives there? They ask all these kinds of questions, and they’re really curious, I think. They don’t know what it is. What is told to everybody

is that it is a community residence. Nobody says that people with AIDS live here.

Susanna not even knowing what the "Jewish" community was called is reflective of the level of disconnect I consistently saw evidenced between residents and the surrounding Hasidic community, and Casa Albergues in general with their neighbors. In Susanna mentioning the Saturday afternoon time period, she was also reinforcing the only kind of contact that I knew of between a resident and a member of the Hasidic community. In one interview with a resident, I was told by him that he had occasionally been asked to go inside a Hasidic home to do small tasks like turn on a light switch. He told me that he didn't mind doing it and he would occasionally be offered a cookie or some other treat for his assistance. He did not mention being asked anything about Casa Albergues during any time he spent in a Hasidic home.

Susanna's comment about residents being told what to say about Casa Albergues reflected what Salvatore (the Executive Director) had said in the June meeting to residents. Salvatore told all residents that if anyone called Casa Albergues and wanted information about the house, they were to be told it is a "community of residents." He said that any additional questions should be directed to the office.

What is key to discuss here as it relates to a sense of connection vs. a sense of disconnect is the real or perceived subtext behind the telling of residents how to talk about their residence. Through conversations with the Executive Director, I sensed that the primary concern was to protect the privacy of the residents and the house. That being said, I think the broader issue here relates to stigma. I found that for many

people living in Casa Albergues meant that they might be associated with an unwanted identity. This unwanted identity could be related to being seen/known as someone suffering from HIV/AIDS, as gay, or both. Because of this, I began to see patterns of interpersonal disassociation (Leary & Schreindorfer, 1998) where some residents would avoid, minimize interaction with, or otherwise “disconnect” from other residents and/or Casa Albergues out of a fear of being guilty by association.

Discussions about individual identity vs. group identity at Casa Albergues provide more insight into this point. I am framing my discussions of individual vs. group identity around the stories of three residents: Eduardo, Silvio, and Angel. I found their stories to be the best representations of the deeper subtexts behind the tension of individual identity vs. group identity, particularly as I saw this tension influenced heavily by stigma associated with homosexuality in Latino culture. In my re-telling of these stories, I am mostly using what I came to understand about their behavior, through my observations of them and others, in many different communication situations.

While I interacted with each resident on multiple occasions and completed audio-taped interviews with two of them (i.e., Silvio and Angel), the best data relating to the tension at hand was revealed in my participant observation and in fieldnotes from social scenes involving Eduardo, Silvio, and Angel. The stories, while somewhat about them, are much more about relationships between the men living in Casa Albergues. In other words, discussions about these three residents provide a more in-depth look at issues I found repeatedly in evidence at Casa Albergues. That is, the attitudes and behaviors as discussed through the three residents are not out of

the ordinary, rather, they provide an in-depth look at what is a behavioral norm at Casa Albergues.

Individual Identity vs. Group Identity

Tensions between individual identity vs. group identity at Casa Albergues were manifested around complex and often painful negotiations of identity that involved issues related to sexual orientation and masculinity. The tension between individual identity and group identity manifested itself in three primary ways: (a) in how some residents resisted being associated with the group at Casa Albergues, (b) in how some residents maintained an individual identity when faced with group pressure to acknowledge an alternative or "more truthful" identity, and (c) in how some expressions of individual identity were curtailed due to a shift in group identity.

I saw the case at Casa Albergues as a microcosm of broader issues debated in Latino culture in regard to masculinity and what it means to be a real man (or, a "Macho") (Díaz, 1998). Casa Albergues is a meeting ground for self-identified gay and straight Latino men from different generations and unique social circumstances (e.g., varying degrees of education and urban vs. rural upbringing in multiple countries of origin), men who were coming to grips with their desire to express femininity, and men who defended their masculinity by *not* acknowledging that they had had sex with other men.

Seeing Others Through Eduardo

One thing learned in my time at Casa Albergues is that there are constant changes in who spends time with whom, who is mad at whom, who is speaking to whom on a particular day, and who will not go on a trip if someone they are having a

problem with is going. For instance, a resident might come downstairs to go on a group outing, see someone he or she didn't like, and go quietly back into the house. As the Activities Coordinator, Susanna was the staff member who had to deal the most with these types of situations, as she was the one who would attempt to coax the person to join or re-join the group, almost always to no avail. One resident who Susanna discussed in an interview as being especially difficult to work with was Eduardo.

Eduardo, 61, from Honduras, identifies himself as heterosexual, and has lived in the house for one year. The most striking feature about how Eduardo interacted with others at Casa Albergues was in how he seemingly separated himself from other members of the group both inside and outside the house. Inside the house, he was one of the residents who almost always could be seen eating alone. Outside the house, I came to notice that a lot of the time on a group outing (e.g., trip to the movies, concerts) he would walk a significant distance behind (15-20 feet) and/or away from the others in the group. This was especially the case when the group stopped. For example, when the group would be waiting for a bus or a train, he tended to keep an equal distance or move even further away from the rest of the group. He would keep the group in sight, but remain far enough away so as not to be "with" the group. I recorded his and others' behavior (others in the group gave no signs of being affected positively or negatively by his behavior) in these situations. I thought his actions were peculiar, but I did not see connections to other issues until Susanna said the following in an interview.

Let's say [Eduardo], for example. He's straight. But he really, I would say he's homophobic. He doesn't want to take pictures with anybody. He doesn't want to be related to Casa Albergues in any public place, you know. That's why when we go to activities, he's just behind us, like far away.

Susanna and I were actually discussing a completely different topic at the point in the interview when she made this comment. We were talking about instances in the dining room I had witnessed, which involved negotiations around sexuality and/or masculinity. This is a topic to which I return presently. Susanna's comment about Eduardo not wanting any pictures taken of him with others referred to the circumstance that sometimes group pictures were taken during outings. As a follow-up to her response, I asked Susanna to describe when she realized Eduardo was keeping his distance from the group during trips. She said:

Like the second time that he went out with us. And also I feel like he has a problem with his own - with AIDS, too, because he hasn't told anybody from his family. Nobody knows. And then that thing - that saying that if he lives in Casa Albergues, that most of the residents here are gay. So there's a conflict for him, like a double conflict. And he has said, not in front of me, but the nurse told me that he had said some really strong statements about gays in front of the residents.

In the interview, Susanna went on to say that new residents are told before they decide to live in Casa Albergues that the population served by the house is mostly gay men. The understanding among the staff is that if a person does not want to live with gay men, they shouldn't choose to live in Casa Albergues.

If someone makes the decision to live in the house and does have a problem with gay men, I have never witnessed, or known of, any kind of intervention to deal with problems of homophobia. This speaks directly to a central problem I saw in the kind of support and care Casa Albergues provided. There was practically no attention given to the communication of the group living in the house. Residents were on their own as it related to their interaction with others. I found this to be particularly problematic in a healthcare setting whose written mission statement begins with "Our mission is to provide our residents with a clean, pleasant, dignified, supportive, and healthy living environment."

I argue that there is a great deal to be done to realize the mission statement around the issues of a dignified, supportive, and healthy living environment. On each of these issues, I suggest that attending to the communication of the group at Casa Albergues is key. In fact, I found that a focus on improving the communication at Casa Albergues could be the singular best kind of care to provide as it related to helping residents negotiate and/or come to terms with their internalized and/or externalized homophobia, which for them tied into stigma associated with having HIV/AIDS.

As it related to Eduardo, the impression Susanna had was that he did not want to be associated with gay residents at Casa Albergues, and, in turn, he did not want to be associated with a house, which in and of itself was associated with gays. Through my observations of Eduardo, it seemed that he saw "guilt" in association. What was harder to understand was how Eduardo made the leap that people outside and away

from Casa Albergues would have an idea that he was with a group of people who lived in a house for those suffering from AIDS

Seeing Others Through Silvio

The story I tell involving Silvio is quite different. Silvio is 36, identifies himself as heterosexual, and has lived in the house for one year. He came to Casa Albergues shortly after spending a significant amount of time in the hospital. There he learned he had HIV. He came to the U.S. from Mexico in May 1989. In Mexico, he left behind a wife and two children. He seemed very much alone in the U.S. I asked him in an interview if anyone in his family knew that he was sick and he told me that they did not. He said that the reason he had not told his family about his HIV status was because he did not want them to worry. He told me that he especially did not want his mother to worry and that he had not spoken with her for over a year.

The first time Silvio invited me into his room, I was struck by how meticulously he placed all his things. He had arranged dominos and other items like nail clippers and pens into intricate display patterns on his desk, shelves, and nightstand. I saw some of this same attention to detail when he would walk around the house. Almost always, his hair was neatly styled and his shirtsleeves had a distinguishing double roll.

Also characteristic of Silvio was that he rarely spoke. He often would come into a common room and leave almost before I could notice he was there. I witnessed his seeming aversion to spending a great deal of time with others at a birthday party, which was being held in his honor (along with two other residents). Instead of staying throughout the festivities, he came downstairs for lunch, but then returned to

his room. Before leaving, he asked me to come get him before cutting the cake. I did so. After eating some cake, he prepared to leave again, but first asked me to come get him when we were ready to watch a planned movie. I did that as well.

Eventually, Silvio and I established a good enough relationship that led to him asking where I had been, if I hadn't visited the house for a period of time. On a number of occasions he invited me to stay in his room overnight, saying that he would sleep on the floor. It was difficult to read this offer, as I did not think he was joking. On each occasion he asked me to stay in his room, I treated it as a sincere, sweet gesture attesting to our growing friendship, but probably much more his offer attested to his feelings of loneliness. I don't think he was the only one who was lonely. During the entire time of my investigations, not once did a family member stop by to visit a resident.

I saw this finding as particularly telling of the ways in which the group I studied experienced a kind of internalized stigma (Goffman, 1963) around their disease. Often, residents at Casa Albergues would not tell their families they had HIV/AIDS. Those residents who did not tell their families seemed to want to "pass" (Goffman) as something other than a person with HIV/AIDS. A number of residents recounted stories to me about how they told their families that they were doing well and working regularly. I mentioned in the previous chapter that there were a few residents who worked full or part-time, but these were not the residents I found sustaining the illusion of wellness with their families. It was the residents who did not work who told their families something other than the reality of their situation. I saw this as evidence of how the bonds that traditionally tie Latino families together

were broken down by the fear and the shame associated with the disease and with family members who have HIV/AIDS

One night, I was sitting and talking to a couple of residents in the old dining room. As Silvio came into the room both other residents began teasing him by calling him "El Macho." Silvio didn't seem to mind this nickname. The four of us talked as a group for a short while and then the conversation took an abrupt turn. One of the residents, Alejandro, began to question how Silvio had contracted HIV. The conversation turned so quickly and intensified at such a quick pace that I was only able to capture the gist of what was being said. What I was absolutely sure of, by the words that Alejandro was choosing and the way in which he was speaking to Silvio, was that he was accusing Silvio of looking down on "maricónes" (best translation in this circumstance = faggots) and that Silvio had no right to do so since he had contracted HIV by having sex with a man. The third resident stayed silent, but looked on with what I would describe as a smirk.

After the initial turn in the conversation, the talk slowed down a bit and Alejandro kept driving his general point home to Silvio that he had no right to see himself as above gay men. The third resident occasionally would reinforce something that Alejandro said by making a similar comment. Silvio remained in the dining room, but moved around the room to get coffee and something out of the refrigerator. In writing my fieldnotes immediately following the event, I couldn't recall anything that Silvio directly said to defend himself. It almost seemed as if he used movement to deflect what he was hearing instead of responding in other ways. After a short while of this, Silvio left the room.

Immediately upon his departure, the other two residents began talking about Silvio and whether or not they thought he was gay. A short time later, Silvio returned only to leave again almost immediately. After Silvio left for the second time, the resident who had not said much during the dispute turned to me and said that he thought Silvio was gay and that Silvio was interested in me. I responded by saying, perhaps, but that I wasn't interested in talking about Silvio without him being present. We left it at that.

I saw Silvio's return to the dining room as evidence of him trying to keep others from talking gossiping about him. While some residents and staff spoke of pervasive gossip at Casa Albergues, I never witnessed it in any substantial way. Part of the reason I observed less gossip than I knew occurred was because I did not participate in the gossiping. As a result, I felt that people either curtailed or avoided gossiping around me. The main reason I avoided gossip was that it would have taken me too far into complete participation in the research site. While this could have helped me glean some additional insights, I felt it would ultimately limit what I could learn overall, especially if it was perceived that I was gossiping about residents.

I saw Silvio as representative of the deeply personal tension among residents at Casa Albergues between maintaining a desired individual identity against group pressure to acknowledge a different one. Unlike in Eduardo's case, wherein he used the group as a way to reflect what he was not, Silvio was selected by some residents as reflective of what some of the group were—gay men who were unwilling to discuss and/or accept their homosexuality.

Recall that the conversation between Silvio and the two other residents began by him being identified as a “macho.” Macho is a term typically reserved for Latino men who are considered to exemplify masculine behavior. While there are debates on the meaning of being a “macho” in Latino culture and its negative social and cultural impacts (e.g., Carrier, 1995, Gutmann, 1996, Kalick, 1998, Prieur, 1998), being called a “macho” in Casa Albergues means primarily two things: (a) that one is recognized by others as being masculine, or (b) that a person is recognized by others as *behaving* in a masculine way. At Casa Albergues, being recognized in these ways was not a negative thing. It came as no surprise to me that when Silvio was called a “macho,” the term did not seem to bother him.

What was revealing about the communication event involving Silvio and the two other residents was the way in which the identifying term “macho” was, within the span of a few minutes, used to welcome him into the room and then reconstituted as a lie by the two residents. In other words, the residents accused Silvio of maintaining a lie about who he really is. Or even more specifically, the residents accused him of acting like a macho when they perceived him to be a *maricón*. The two residents, both of whom were gay, challenged the idea that Silvio could be critical of gay men, when he was gay himself. They backed up their challenge by saying that they knew he was gay because they “knew” he had contracted HIV through having sex with a man.

In my time at Casa Albergues, this was the first time I had seen such a confrontation, but it was not the first time I was aware of an undercurrent of tension that surrounded questions of how one resident may represent their identity in the

group. In particular, gay residents, who were the majority, would regularly say things to me, or to other gay residents, regarding their suspicions about the perceived sexuality of others in the house. These conversations were mostly idle speculation and/or wishful thinking on the part of some residents, like Rafael, who was convinced everyone was gay, or at least could be “had.”

It was through the communication event involving Silvio that I came to see the seriousness with which some took expressions of individual identity within the group context. In Silvio’s case, it became so serious that the two residents resorted to publicly talking about how he contracted HIV, which was a deeply personal and private issue for almost every resident.

Seeing Others Through Angel

Many pages ago, I talked about Angel coming downstairs in heels. Here, I pick up that story. As it is hopefully becoming clear, the dining room at Casa Albergues was a place where people had to “face others” in a variety of different ways. Residents like Brian, who were very sick, had to endure others watching the slow and painful process of him attempting to swallow food past the Kaposi’s sarcoma in his throat. For others, simply being the common space put them in a position to potentially face deeply personal questions about identity and sexuality, as was in the case with Silvio. Other residents quietly, as in the case of Angel, came into the common spaces wearing high heels and/or a dress, expressing an aspect of his identity for others to see.

Through Angel, I was able to view the shifting of group identity as individuals in the group changed. Angel is 25 years old, from México, and has lived in Casa

Albergues for one year. Early in my time at Casa Albergues, there were dramatic differences in the ways that people expressed their identity and/or simply had fun in a group context. Early in my investigations at Casa Albergues, drag shows were the norm during parties at Casa Albergues. Over time, the culture and/or rules (i.e., unwritten house rules) of what was acceptable behavior during parties and of simply how to *be* in the house changed.

The day when Angel came downstairs in heels, I knew something had changed in the house culture. I saw this in how Angel entered and interacted in the dining room. He came in hesitantly and then stood around and behind people, seeming to want to be seen, but not be *too* seen. This was in stark contrast to past times when I entered common areas of the house and was greeted by residents getting ready for a party in all manner of preparation (e.g., with sequins, feathers, stilettos, and wigs).

In Angel's case, while he did seem shy and hesitant, he was greeted positively by the few residents in the room and by the staff. Perhaps this prompted his next move. A little while later, Angel came back downstairs in a long white dress, heels, a hat, and was carrying a basket with candy. More than anything, I noticed his enormous smile.

This event involving Angel occurred in February 2004. It was also during this month that some of the gay residents began asking me if they could have a party like those they had had in the past. These questions were raised in the brief period that I was assisting Casa Albergues in planning activities. While my understanding of this issue was just evolving, I had observed enough to know that I did not want to assist in

the planning of an activity where I could not better anticipate potential relationship consequences with other residents and/or staff. In other words, I feared having such direct responsibility for planning a party involving a drag show could be perceived by some as inappropriate or, perhaps worse, as favoring a particular sub-group of the residents in the house.

Through later conversations with the new Activities Coordinator, I learned that she was told by the Executive Director that there were concerns with neighbors seeing into the house and having problems with men being dressed as women. As far as the earlier data I had in regard to this at Casa Albergues, either this concern had not been enough to prevent a party with a drag show and/or had not been seen as a problem. In other words, I had no data to support that something did happen or where a neighbor complained about a particular house activity involving a drag show and/or made it known that they had seen and/or had a problem with men being dressed as women inside the house.

I think the real shift in regard to whether or not parties with drag shows were likely to happen came about as membership at Casa Albergues changed. While there had consistently been a majority of residents who are gay, the gay residents who typically worked with the previous Activities Coordinator to plan parties with drag shows had left the house. The gay men who remained and remembered the parties still wanted them, but this desire did not translate into any kind of individual or collective leadership that carried a party off. In other words, I do not think that the current Activities Coordinator would say no if residents really pushed her to assist them in planning a party that included a drag show.

I suggest there was a shift in the identity of the group such that individual desires are mediated differently. I think this shift has come about as power dynamics have changed among the residents, whereas the pressure to act a certain way within the group has curtailed the behaviors of individuals within the group. I was considering this very issue prior to my last visit to Casa Albergues.

Residents Making Their Own Drag Show

Earlier the same day, I had been going over fieldnotes and interview transcripts and contemplating tensions and shifts around individual and group identity. I was thinking back to my earlier time at Casa Albergues and how things had changed since I began my investigations. More specifically, I was considering the overall "sense" of the house and how this seemed different. That same evening, I had the chance to speak to a few residents about this.

The first resident I spoke with, Antonio, had lived in the house for the majority of the time I had been collecting data. We were sitting and talking in the new dining room, immediately following a monthly house meeting. I asked him why he thought there weren't parties like the old ones and he said, "Brad, I think it has a lot to do with the people who are living here at the time, whether events like that will happen." As he was saying this to me, Alejandro came over and joined in the conversation. He asked Antonio to speak in English. At first, I didn't understand why he did this, but then Alejandro made a sidelong glance toward the staff member sitting in the adjoining room. I then understood that if we spoke in English, she wouldn't be able to understand what we were discussing. Alejandro went on to say that Susanna, the Activities Coordinator, had resisted discussions with him, when he

would say things like, "The past Activities Coordinator did it." While we were talking about this, Antonio left the room.

As I was engaged in casual conversation with a couple of other residents, Antonio returned to the dining room wearing silver pumps. He made numerous passes through the room, taking in the praise and enthusiastic response from his impromptu audience. By now there were six residents (all gay) and a staff member in the room. Angel was one of the residents in the room, and I noticed him watching this very closely.

Antonio's impromptu audience then began to give him instructions for how to sit, stand, and carry himself as a woman. Alejandro left the room and, within a few minutes, returned with a small bag out of which he pulled a multi-strand pearl necklace. He placed the necklace on Antonio, taking care to make sure that every strand was in perfect position. The necklace spurred additional praise from the audience. While Alejandro was taking the necklace off Antonio, I asked him how he had come by the necklace. He explained that he had found it at a flea market and made a point of showing me the intricate clasp that had originally caught his eye. Next, he went over to where Angel was sitting and placed the necklace on Angel. Angel smiled and seemed pleased. As Alejandro took the necklace off Angel, I watched him carefully. For just an instant, he held the necklace up to his own neck. In that moment, the look on his face communicated that he was considering what to do next. His next move was to place the necklace upon himself. He didn't keep the necklace on long and when he took it off that was the end of the impromptu "show."

The point I am making here is that just the mention of these past parties brought into existence a variety of communication acts that, put together, constituted a communication event that was reflective of past events. In this, I saw evidence of the meaning and significance this small group of men placed on expressing an aspect of who they were or how they wanted to *be* in their own home, which was increasingly being denied to them.

Dining Room as a Place to "Check In"

Other than eating, having parties, hanging out, the dining room served two other primary functions. First, it is a place to "check-in." It was especially the case in the old dining room that people would simply pass by the room on their way upstairs and come in and say hello and/or get some water or coffee. I also witnessed many instances when residents would not come into the room, but would look in as they were passing through the front hallway area.

Now, with the new dining room and TV lounge location further "downstairs," traffic patterns involving the dining room and TV lounge have changed. First, it is a much greater distance with significantly more stairs between residents' rooms and the new dining room and TV lounge. Second, residents coming into or leaving the building have to go down a set of stairs to actually see (or hear) who is in the dining room. Perhaps because of this, there is a "spot" in the TV lounge where I almost always saw a resident sitting when I entered the house. From this spot, the person sitting can look up the stairs and see who enters or leaves the building. I suspect that for many, while they probably wouldn't admit it, they sit in that spot to feel less isolated or alone.

The final use of the dining room I want to discuss is its being a place to play games. It was a fairly common occurrence to see residents in the dining room playing some kind of board game (e.g., "Scrabble," "Connect," "Trouble"). These games tended to be played by two or three people at once. On Wednesday nights, Bingo was a game that many residents of the house played. I conclude discussions of sense of connection vs. sense of disconnect, and individual identity vs. group identity through a discussion of this weekly activity.

Dining Area as a Place to Play Games: Bingo!

In my discussions of the game Bingo at Casa Albergues, I am focusing on what patterns of communication during the playing of Bingo could tell me about community and/or a sense of community. I saw the weekly games of Bingo I observed as a way to document an activity that brought a sizeable share of the residents together on a regular basis. I am aware that there is an extensive literature on gaming in general that I could have explored in relation to the Bingo activity, but I felt that this went beyond the scope of this study, and indeed could have been a different study in and of itself.

Early in my time at Casa Albergues, I participated in a few Bingo games. These games were mostly spontaneous events that happened in the middle of the afternoon in the dining room. Eventually, the previous Activities Coordinator expanded these afternoon games into larger scale events that included prizes and food treats like cake and ice cream. Bingo (called Bingen¹ at Casa Albergues) became something that she did on a regular basis and she could count on participation by at least 7-10 residents.

When I agreed to help in the interim with activities, the residents I worked with to help plan some events wanted Bingo to be the first major activity we planned. Between mid-February and mid-March, I worked with different residents in setting up and then playing Bingo. After mid-March, I attended all but one of the regularly scheduled Wednesday Bingo nights that were planned by Susanna. I did this through the end of May.

Setting up for Bingo involved first going to a local ninety-nine cents store and buying 20 prizes and one grand prize. The kinds of items purchased as prizes were shampoo, lotion, candles, baby oil, soaps, razors, CD holders, night lights, t-shirts, etc. The grand prize (Bingon?) could be things like a soap dish and lotion holder together, a ceramic clock, a storage bin, etc. Also, tissue paper was purchased to wrap the different items.

Carlito almost always arrived early to get the dining room set up for Bingo. Getting the room set-up meant taking out the Bingo cards and chips from the TV stand and placing any special foodstuffs on the table. Set up also involved turning off the TV, which was usually on in the room, and turning on the radio. The majority of the time salsa or merengue music provided an additional sound backdrop to the Bingo games.

"Regulars" would tend to arrive early, especially Carmen and Leo. They seemed to have a chosen spot where they liked to sit. Leo, one of the easiest going residents in the house, even expressed his displeasure that a resident once was sitting in "his spot." While Bingo never exactly drew in the same group, it attracted a subset of the same 50% of the house's membership for each game.

Once the game was started, there tended to be a lot of laughter and talking among the residents. There was the constant effort to translate from English to Spanish or vice versa, depending on who was calling the numbers. The main need for the translations was that Carmen was a regular at Bingo. Carmen is 62, from Trinidad, and speaks English. Often, though, she would use what Spanish she knew in speaking with others. During Bingo, if she knew the number in Spanish, she would say it. Many times, she said things like "No tengo nada" (I don't have anything) and "No comprendo" (I don't understand). Once she came to an English class I taught in hopes that she could learn more Spanish.

I make these points about language use to highlight the efforts residents engaged in on both sides in this circumstance to include everyone. I saw this as evidence of the residents themselves attempting to find a shared text (Fitch, 1998), and to make sure that everyone was connected into the experience. In the Bingo games, I saw the potential for a sense of "we-ness" among the group. It was also here that I could see some level of commitment within the residents to share in a weekly ritual of reinforcing their ties to one another. While I never found it to be the case that "Bingo relationships" mattered significantly in other contexts, within the context of this event, Bingo did bring a fairly regular group of residents together to have some fun and bond with one another.

Whenever the number "69" was called, there was almost always catcalls and whistles. The loudest catcall came from Carmen. Eventually, "69" became her number and residents would answer questions like, "What number was called?" with "It was Carmen's number." I came to suspect that this was extremely important for

her. Here was an instance where she was able to be the center of attention among a group of people where she tended to be in a fairly marginal role. Her marginal status in the group came about mostly due to her inability to speak Spanish and because she was one of the only women living at Casa Albergues. Often, I witnessed her trying to establish more of herself in the group by speaking every Spanish word she knew and eagerly trying to learn more from her housemates (and even me when she came to my English class).

A lot of times during the game, residents would talk to each using expressions or names they had for one another. I especially noticed how Enrique would call Carlito "paisano" (countryman, i.e., they are both from Mexico). Other words that were used exclusively between gay residents were comadre (it's like saying "my sister" or my woman friend, or, it may be used to express kinship between a mother and godmother), and putova (masculine and feminine version of bitch or whore).

I saw these communication acts as getting at exactly what Fitch (1998) was discussing in conversations about text and context. Here, I was seeing a very specific patterning of speech that revealed a web of relationships. Between the Mexican men, I was witnessing circumstances where their national identity bound them together within a shared social context. The gay men, some of whom were Mexican, would use a different set of words to connect themselves to the other gay men in the room. In both cases, these "webs" were being woven in one context (i.e., a room full of people playing Bingo) and simultaneously creating new communication contexts that I argue residents bound by these webs were communicating within. I suggest that these multiple communication contexts then became patterns upon which I saw a

sense of “we-ness” being established within sub-sets of the group *and* strong affective ties were being communicated through this shared text.

Carlito was the resident most concerned with the Bingo rules and making sure that others were taking things seriously. He would get very agitated if someone dropped a number chip. He wanted it found immediately. This was in complete contrast to someone like Angel, who often dropped the number chips and seemed completely unconcerned when a number chip hit the floor. You would hear the telltale tap on the floor and then see Angel peering casually at the floor, smiling the whole time. When this happened, I saw Carlito get up, find the dropped number, and caution Angel to be more careful. Other times, I watched Carlito as *he* watched someone check the numbers in the Bingo bag to see if all seventy-five number chips were inside. For Carlito, Bingo was something fun that should be taken seriously.

Residents were expected to know how to play Bingo, even if it was their first time. This caused the occasional problem. For instance, if someone called “Bingo,” but didn’t have the numbers lined up correctly, there was bound to be a problem. As an example, a new player called “Bingo” during Bongo, which is the final grand prize game. For the Bongo game, all 25 numbers on the Bongo card must be covered to win. In Bongo at Casa Albergues, tensions were the highest during Bongo. Even though there was no way that enough numbers had been called to cover any card, some players dumped the marker chips off their cards, only to find out that the “winner” didn’t have all his numbers covered. Arguments broke out among the players about what to do when they realized the mistake. Carlito communicatively got control of the situation by reading off each number previously called and waiting

for those players that had cleared their cards to re-mark them. Once he was satisfied that everything was back on track, the game proceeded.

I provided a description of this situation to highlight that, in a small way, the description showed the ability residents had to negotiate power and rules within their group. I saw this as something that should be nurtured more at Casa Albergues. Perhaps, some were annoyed by Carlito's behavior, but I think there was also a sense of "okay, we can handle this" and a sense of relief that it was handled within their group. In all the times that I watched Bingo and witnessed both large and small disagreements, there were occasional threats to leave the room but it never once resulted in someone leaving. In that, I saw a commitment to sustaining relationships and/or to stay together as a group. In these small acts of agency and compromise I saw in the Bingo games, I found value in more purposely allowing residents to have control over things that mattered for them. Indeed, I see this as integral to the quality of care they receive.

These are points I discuss more as I move into discussions of residents' autonomy vs. staff control. In a nutshell, residents at Casa Albergues have practically no say in the running of the house. There is one person in charge at Casa Albergues and that is the Executive Director, Salvatore.

Residents' Autonomy vs. Staff Control

Tensions between residents' autonomy and staff control at Casa Albergues most closely resembled the circumstances that reinforced this particular tension in Adelman and Frey's (1997) study of Bonaventure House. In discussions of Bonaventure House, Adelman and Frey (1994) communicated the impression that

residents and staff worked together in creating and sustaining a high-quality community life. This was part of their mission and what they did together. I simply did not find this to be the case at Casa Albergues. I found no evidence of an organized intent to construct community and/or a sense of community at Casa Albergues. That is not to say that different staff and/or residents did not do things that perhaps fostered community and/or a sense of community, but I saw these as mostly individual efforts that were not connected to a broader purpose. In interviews, the professional and service staff would talk about there being a community or family-like environment at Casa Albergues. To me, that reinforced their myth of what they thought Casa Albergues was supposed to be, rather than the reality of what it is: a place for Latinos with HIV/AIDS to live where they could receive focused care to help with their disease. I do think that there is potential at Casa Albergues to have a sense of community, but it would take serious work toward the active development of community.

Of the dialectic tensions I found in evidence at Casa Albergues, residents' autonomy vs. staff control was the most straightforward. I understand the specific nature of the social support provided at Casa Albergues in three primary ways: (a) Casa Albergues provides a housing option for undocumented immigrants living with HIV/AIDS in the U.S., (b) Casa Albergues offers additional services in the way of three daily meals, an on-site nurse, and a person to plan and provide activities for the people living in the house, (c) Casa Albergues helps undocumented immigrants achieve legal status in the U.S. and/or to receive health benefits, regardless of legal status.

From what I documented and observed from a series of eight end-of-the-month-house meetings from February to September 2004, in exchange for the support offered by Casa Albergues, residents are expected to abide by all house rules, attend all house meetings, and not presume to take advantage of any of the provided services (e.g., not wasting the food that was provided to them and/or saying that they plan to participate in an activity and not showing up). End-of-the-month house meetings were the only time when everyone in Casa Albergues, both residents and staff, was expected to meet for a one hour time period. The meetings occurred from 7:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m. on the last Friday of each month. I describe a typical house meeting below.

End-of-the-Month House Meeting(s)

Practically every house meeting was the same in tone and style. Salvadore would begin the meeting by saying, or going right into, “el primer punto” (or, “the first point”), a prepared list of concerns he had about the house and/or residents’ behavior. These concerns ranged from how much time a resident could spend on the house phone, how much food they could eat, what time the house curfew was, other issues like what kinds of things residents could have in their rooms (i.e., no big furniture), and, very rarely, concerns about relationship issues in the house. For example, once Salvadore told residents that they needed to stop gossiping and, in a separate instance, told residents to “be kind.” In both of these circumstances, comments were made as a directive. Unless a resident would force the issue, there was almost never any discussion of the points that Salvadore made. Salvadore would tell residents that they would have a chance to speak at the end of the meeting, but this rarely happened. Most of the time, residents would sit quietly during the meeting

listening to whatever Salvadore had to say. On the rare occasion when a resident would challenge a point that Salvadore was making, he (i.e., it was always a he) would do so in a way that had similarities to the directive speech patterns of Salvadore. In other words, the few residents that spoke up would make their own demands. Even when rules were changed that directly affected the lives of the residents, such as the curfew going from 1:00 a.m. to 11:00 p.m., residents rarely spoke up and/or were not given the chance to speak. These once-a-month meetings, which were billed by Salvadore as being a forum for residents to come together as a group and voice their concerns, were really a time when Salvadore articulated and reinforced the rules of the house.

For their part, many residents told me that house rules were unreasonable. I found that health status played a large role in mediating their response. If a resident felt good and was responding fine to his or her medications, often he or she did not want to be bound by the behavioral expectations of the house. I witnessed numerous circumstances where good health translated into residents wanting to come and go from the house as they pleased, and not be concerned with curfews and mealtimes. Likewise, I saw in many that the better they felt the more they wanted to find work and make money to augment their benefits (if they had them) and/or to have an excuse to be doing something outside the house. Among certain residents, the perception told to me was that the staff preferred that they remained sick, so that residents could be more easily taken care of by Casa Albergues. I never felt that there was any intent on the part of the staff to support what some residents perceived, but in

deed the staff did set-up a situation that made it difficult for a healthy person to live at Casa Albergues.

Brian provides a good example. When I first met him, he had no problem following the rules of the house. He was incredibly sick and, for him, just making it to a meal, a house meeting, and/or a house activity required enormous effort.

After numerous medicine changes, chemotherapy, and weeks of bed rest, he slowly began to get better. That is, he began to put on weight. He attended more and more house activities. He began to leave the house to attend meetings at other caregiving locations, which offered therapeutic support groups. And, as a final act of letting others know he was back, he reconnected his cell phone.

This was a stark contrast to the Brian who just a few months before had described February this way: "I mean for the month of February I think I went out of the house maybe three times." The better Brian's health became, the more difficult it was for him to arrive on time for meetings and/or meals. Even more problematic was the weekday and weekend curfews. He was completely outraged that Salvatore imposed an 11:00 p.m. curfew for every night of the week (including weekends), beginning at the end of September. Brian had arrived late for the meeting and did not hear about the curfew change directly from Salvatore. Brian shared his frustrations with me after the September meeting. Perhaps in the meeting Brian would have acted similarly, but in the actual meeting, there were no verbal comments at all made when the new curfew time was announced. There were a few residents who I witnessed roll their eyes and who shook their heads disbelievably, but these nonverbal expressions, if noticed, went ignored by Salvatore.

Having been a firsthand witness to residents' frustration with the curfew hours in other contexts, it was surprising to me that some residents did not say anything in the meeting about the new curfew. For some, curfew hours did not matter, as they almost never left the house in the first place. For those it did matter for, I suspect that the lack of response was due to their not seeing any point in challenging the decision. The reality they had come to perceive through past experience was that no change would come of it.

Occasionally, staff control extended noticeably into what residents could and could not do in the common areas. Beyond some of the ways I mentioned earlier with regard to kinds of parties residents could have and concerns with attire, I found the tension of residents' autonomy vs. staff control additionally manifested itself in staff controls placed on the common area TV. This serves as the transitioning point to my second research question regarding media use.

RQ 2 What is the role of communication media, in individual and group life, for fostering community and/or a sense of community within the context of a shared residential facility for Latino people dealing with HIV/AIDS?

Residents' Autonomy vs. Staff Control Continued

TV Lounge Who Gets the "Remote?"

In the old dining room, I almost never saw any disagreement between residents about what to watch on TV and/or when to have the TV on versus the radio in the room. Generally, there was a sense of agreement among four kinds of TV programs most commonly watched. In order of popularity, these were (a) soccer games (mostly when Latin American teams are playing), (b) news programs (mostly in Spanish), (c) novelas (Spanish soap operas), and (d) the occasional Mexican reality show. If a resident didn't like what others were watching, he/she would or could retreat to his/her own rooms to watch TV there.

While it was not the situation that staff used media as a way to bring residents together in Casa Albergues, one potential way I saw media use as important for fostering community and/or a sense of community was in how the media tastes described above could be seen as cutting across differences, which sometimes could serve to disconnect versus connect residents (e.g., differences in sexuality, age, country of origin). Indeed, it was around a common interest in a TV sporting event that I saw residents come together and find a collective voice to influence their environment.

Soon after the new downstairs lounge was finished, I learned of some issues being discussed in the house regarding whether or not there was going to be a TV in the new "TV" lounge. As the lounge was coming into use, Susanna told me that there had been some disagreements between a few of the residents about what to watch on TV. Because of this, Salvatore decided it would be better if there was no TV in the lounge.

For a few months, residents who wanted to watch TV in a group (which was not a common activity) and/or who had no TV to watch in their rooms (although, almost every resident has a TV in his/her room) were told by Salvatore that they had to schedule a time to watch the TV through Susanna. Susanna had the keys to the room where the TV was kept locked away. Then, on one visit, I was surprised to see a TV in the lounge, and it had cable box as well. In speaking to Susanna about this, she said:

Well that's another [thing] that I think brings more problems to the house. Sometimes there are positions taken by the Director, and then they change. The TV was taken out because I think some residents were watching TV one day, and people would change the channel, and it became a conflict. So the Director said: No, no more TV. But now there are two TVs. In the conference room, I'm going to be able to put movies on or see a special event. But this TV [in the lounge] is for them to watch, and I think it's going to be controlled by the person that is in charge of the house.

In this same interview, Susanna described an occasion when a small number of residents approached her during the time she had the keys to the room where the

TV was located. The residents wanted to watch the finals of the American Cup together. At this point in my data collection, I had been at Casa Albergues for over two years and I had never known of residents coming together to make this kind of request of a staff member, nor coordinating themselves to watch a TV program together.

Fiske's (1993) discussions of power relations in a homeless shelter provided insights into this situation at Casa Albergues. Namely, there were similarities in how the group Fiske discussed and the group at Casa Albergues found ways to create localized power in resistance to an existing power system. In the case of Casa Albergues, this localized power came about when the residents bonded together to articulate a particular "want" they had as a group. Here, I argue that residents communicatively established a sense of we-ness through the act of doing this. As a result, I found a strong correlation between residents coming together to address a want they had and the decision made shortly thereafter by Salvatore to put a TV in the lounge.

In our conversations, Susanna told me that she had spoken to the Salvatore about why he had changed his mind on the TV being in the lounge. He told her that maybe it would be better to allow the residents to get together to watch something like a soccer game, rather than having them walk around the house doing nothing. It seemed to be more about residents making clear what they wanted, bonding together, and gaining a concession from Salvatore.

I was struck by how Salvatore's original decision not to have a TV in the common lounge did little to influence a resident to spend time in the new lounge.

watching TV and/or just hanging out with others. Even now, if there is something a resident wants to watch, he or she is at the mercy of finding the staff member with the remote.

While Salvatore's decision perhaps forces a staff mediator into those rare instances when residents actually argue over what to watch on TV (again, something I never saw), it seemed to further encourage residents to pass the time in their own rooms, mostly alone, listening to the radio, watching TV, or something else.

Television and Music Behind Closed Doors

One circumstance that I found consistent within residents in both my interviews and in my observations was that TVs and other media had a certain importance in their private rooms. Most of the instances when I was invited into a resident's room, he/she would give me a "tour." The majority of these tours included a mention of either his/her TV and/or stereo system. On a number of occasions, the very first thing a resident pointed to during a tour was his/her TV or stereo. Residents like Brian provided additional insight into these observations in an interview. I asked him, "If you were to identify something, or a couple of things here in your room that were probably the most important for you." Brian interrupted by saying:

Oh damn. I gotta say my music. My music. Because, my music, throughout all my life, because you know I don't have a lot to show from my thirty eight years on this earth, but one thing I do have is good through my music. My music has gotten me through you know when I'm excited when I go to sleep, when I'm sad, you know whatever, my music. And my movies, it's the little things that are important to me that I want to keep. I try to keep things simple

and basic. I never try to get extravagant, I keep it simple and basic

In speaking to a different resident, Rafael, about what about his television and stereo were important, he said, "Because, it's my prize possessions " Later in the conversation with Rafael, I asked him why he often leaves his TV and or stereo on when he is not in his room He said, "It keeps me company " I went on with the exchange

BC it keeps you company?

Rafael Yeah

BC Well, what about [those] times when you're not even in your room, you'll leave it on Why is that?

Rafael So, when I come in I won't miss nothing

BC What do you mean by that, 'You won't miss nothing'?

Rafael I come in and there's something going on in my room

When a different resident, Leo, was asked, "What inside your room is important to you?" he responded by saying "Well, the most important thing is my TV – it passes the moments here "

These examples provide insights into the role I came to see communication media having in the daily lives of residents at Casa A.bergues Most of all, I came to see patterns in the kinds of communication media residents had in their rooms Each private room I was invited into (I was invited into over 50% of the private rooms of the total population) had a TV, a stereo, and/or a radio Simply by residents having these things in their rooms, I saw communication media as mattering a great deal

When residents arrive to Casa Albergues they are provided a simple room with a bed and a few other small pieces of furniture. When they start making choices about what to fill their space with, communication media are among those things that come into the decision-making process. Some spend what little money they have on purchasing TV's, stereos, and or radios. Others have been "carrying" around their communication media as they have moved from place to place. Perhaps not all residents would say a TV or stereo is their "prize possessions" like in the case of Rafael, but I do see value in recognizing that communication media matter to the majority of residents at Casa Albergues in some fashion.

More specifically, I came to see communication media as important in two primary ways at Casa Albergues. I first saw communication media as a means to do what both Rafael and Leo described, which was to keep a resident company in his or her room. Second, I saw communication media as useful in how it became an avenue for some residents to retain a sense of self and/or inform a future story of who they would like to become. This was especially seen through Brian.

Brian's room was completely saturated with communication media. Beyond his large music collection, almost his entire wall space was covered with posters of his favorite pop culture icons (e.g., Diana Ross, Halle Berry). He had a plastic bin jammed full of superhero type movies and 70's TV shows on DVDs and VCR tapes (e.g., *The Bionic Woman*, *Dyna Woman/Electra Girl*) that he had sought out and collected over the years. He had children's books that told the stories of young African American characters. He had put up headshots of himself as a young singer

and he had hung a number of his own comic book sketches. And, among many other things, he had books of how to do comic book drawings.

As he was telling me the stories about these things in his room, I came to see them as expressions of who he is. At the same time, his media constructed a large part of what had significance and meaning for him over the course of his life. More specifically, I came to see communication media as being part of who he is. Additionally, I saw media as giving him a sense of self in relation to place. This was evidenced in the following excerpt from our interview:

Wherever I go I always try to make a place that's mine. I was already here like six months and I only had a few pictures up, but you know over the past few weeks, I have been putting more pictures up and I thought, you know what, I just want to put some things up that represent all of my interests. I'm into entertainment. I'm into comic books and I'm into literature. I'm into photos and anything that has to deal with the visual. And yeah, I want to represent all the things that I think on in life. It's like my sense of history.

An additional point Brian made later in this passage was that he put things up on his walls to represent himself to others. I found the timing of when Brian was putting these things up on his walls to be revealing as it related to him staying connected in some way to self. He was putting things up (after living in the house for six months) right as he was beginning to come out of an extremely low cycle in his illness, where he was barely able to eat and/or to leave his room. As he began to feel better, his media became a part of the healing process and reminded him of who he

was and what he still wanted to accomplish. More than anything, I saw his media as rooting him into a "place" that was his own.

I make the case that communication media certainly can be used as a way to disconnect from others. Here, I considered Gergen's (1991) point that sometimes media can serve to lessen the desire and/or perceived need by individuals for face-to-face interaction. I did see at Casa Albergues where residents would spend a great deal of time in their rooms (presumably spending at least part of that time engaged with different media) and not visiting with their "neighbors." At the same time, I saw value in recognizing that communication media can connect people to others in any number of ways. For example, I was witness to an instance when Brian took his DVDs and VCR tapes into the dining room to see if anyone would like to watch something with him. This was the first time I had seen a resident do this. Perhaps through our discussions of his media and what mattered for him, Brian decided he had things he could and/or wanted to share with other members of his "community." In this case, members of his community participated in helping him decide what tape they wanted to watch as a group and stayed around to view the tape together.

I argue that in the act of Brian bringing his tapes into the common area, he was sharing things with others that held a great deal of meaning and significance for him. I saw this as presenting a variety of benefits. The act connected him more firmly into interaction with his housemates. It allowed him to contribute something tangible into the group's social life. And, perhaps most importantly, it fostered a kind of *we-ness* among those who ultimately watched one of Brian's movies together. I argue that it is in the potential of an *adding on* of these moments of *we-ness* that the

beginnings of community and/or a sense of community could be nurtured at Casa Albergues.

Because I found it to be the case that communication media mattered in a variety of individual and group contexts, I argue that helping residents to bring what matters for them about media into group contexts could more solidly connect them into interaction with others. I argue that these connections and feeling that there is something "I" can contribute to the particular social circumstance evidenced at Casa Albergues, whether it is through a kind of communication media or something else that matters to a resident, is an invaluable care-giving tool. It is the kind of care-giving tool that could foster the other things I see as critical for community and/or a sense of community: (a) strong affective ties, and (b) a commitment to constructing and sustaining the community.

Implications for Research Questions

In Chapter One, I laid out my definitions for communication and community. In Chapter Two, I provided greater clarity into what I was looking for to assess whether or not community and/or a sense of community exists at Casa Albergues. As well, I emphasized the constitutive nature of communication as it is constructed between self and others. From these standpoints, I have been able to more clearly see and evaluate connections between communication and community and I have gained deeper insights into what community involves in the particular social context I studied.

In presenting my results, I sought to show the complex nature of community and how it is not a stable or fixed thing. Throughout my time at Casa Albergues, I witnessed circumstances where I saw glimpses of each of the qualities I emphasized as necessary for community and/or a sense of community: (a) a sense of togetherness, (b) strong affective ties, and (c) a commitment to constructing and sustaining connections to the group. But, these qualities never coalesced to articulate a clear sense of community at Casa Albergues. At best, I saw the qualities, when they were enacted, as evidence of the potential for community and/or a sense of community at Casa Albergues. Going further, I argue that because these qualities were present in different communication situations, this serves as evidence in and of itself that at least some members of the group sought deeper connections with others.

An alternative explanation could be that those at Casa Albergues were simply constructing their reality in more episodic ways and this had no relationship to the construction of community. By this I mean that their communication did not have an

end beyond the interaction at hand. Having a sense of community, in other words, wasn't part of what they were working toward in their interaction. While this explanation perhaps provides a certain context to the communication patterns I saw, I ultimately reject the idea because I think residents and staff at Casa Albergues wanted to have a sense of community. At the same time I argue that neither residents nor staff necessarily knew how to do it nor took steps specifically and intentionally designed to foster a sense of community.

I did find at Casa Albergues that there was a general sense among staff especially that community and/or a sense of community could be helpful and/or was viewed as a good thing. Staff talked about Casa Albergues as being community like and/or family-like. I certainly did not find this to be the case and want to re-emphasize a point I made in the literature review that proximity can sometimes support the *myth* of community. In the case at Casa Albergues, the staff especially seemed to buy into what they thought they were supposed to see, a community, whereas residents were attempting to perhaps construct a community within the reality of their day-to-day lived experience. I argue that both residents and staff were articulating, in their own ways, that a sense of community would be helpful at Casa Albergues. The problem was that neither group realized exactly why a sense of community would be helpful. Thus, there were no promoting structures or communicative practices conducive to constructing or sustaining a sense of community.

What the data revealed is that the group under study required focused attention directed toward their communication before there could be the possibility of

constructing community and/or a sense of community. I came to this perspective by gaining deeper understanding of the dialectic tensions present at Casa Albergues. Namely, I saw the tensions of individual identity vs. group identity and residents' autonomy vs. staff control as a barrier to the formation of community and/or a sense of community. Ultimately then, I saw these two tensions as informing the third tension of a sense of connection vs. a sense of disconnect within the group I studied.

At the outset of this study, based on Adelman and Frey (1997) and other studies of community, it seemed that what I would likely find, as I conducted my study, was evidence of a sense of we-ness because of some of the commonalities the group shared. In other words, it seemed probable at least that the shared experiences of common culture and the common health problem would perhaps tend toward the group finding a way to form a sense of we-ness or at least have an affective tie that bound them together in some meaningful way. There were two reasons for this to be the most likely outcome of my study. First, I had a group who was for the most part completely removed from its own cultural moorings. Because of this, I thought that they would perhaps find in each other, and in their shared cultural experience, a kind of cultural re-mooring and either build and/or be sustaining a sense of we-ness around these connections. Second, I thought the commonality of a health problem would add to a sense of shared experience and, in turn, strengthen bonds even more.

As I have shown in my results and discussion, while there was potential for these things to happen, they simply did not occur on any kind of consistent basis. In my case study, I found that the common cultural experience of being Latino men meant that the men were forced into a situation of having to face other men with

whom I doubt they would normally interact. Not only is it unlikely that they would interact with certain kinds of men, but I argue that they would actively avoid interaction with them. For instance, living at Casa Albergues forced gay and homophobic heterosexuals to live under the same roof. Were it not for the disease and the need for this respite, it is most likely that the gay men would not choose to live in a situation where others actively showed disdain for their lifestyle. The same is true for the straight men who were homophobic, whom it could be argued would not select to live with other men who wanted to wear dresses and heels. The men who had perhaps had sex with men and contracted HIV that way, but who did not want anyone to know this, would probably not choose to live somewhere where others may see through the "act."

Yet, in Casa Albergues, here is a situation in which men with these multiple worldviews met. Because of their cultural experience, the straight, homophobic men perhaps felt a sense of justification for their behavior. The gay men were attempting to get away from a cultural experience, which reinforced, more often than not, that they had little or no value in the broader Latino community. Others thought that by hiding who they were and/or not telling their family about their HIV status, perhaps their families would continue to love them. Another way to interpret was that it was not about love, but maybe it was just about their shame and/or stigma associated with the disease. The point is that in a culture that has strict rules about what it means to be a man, and where being a "macho," while culturally contested is ultimately culturally valued, there were bound to be serious conflicts when men come together whose very selves represent a break in those cultural rules. Additionally, an

impediment to the development of a sense of we-ness may well be when the self a person wants to be is threatened by opening up to becoming part of the group. In the case at Casa Albergues, I found it was not safe to assume that shared cultural experience, shared illness, and shared space creates community and/or a sense of community.

In the literature review, I laid out ways in which communication is constructed between self and other. This seems to imply that there are things that could be done to either "self" or "other" that would enhance the possibilities for establishing community and/or a sense of community by removing or transforming some of the communication barriers, which impede people from moving into areas where they can establish stronger bonds with others. For instance, negotiations of identity, as evidenced through patterns of communication, were heavily influenced by stigma and shame associated with the disease. Because this was the case, I argue that there are things that can be done (e.g., staff interventions to address what is and is not acceptable with regard to the stigmatization of others due to fear of being known as having AIDS or being seen as gay) to alleviate some of the shame and stigma associated with HIV/AIDS that directly affects relationships with self and between self and others.

Additionally, I argue that the way in which residents were told to talk about Casa Albergues as a "community of residents," versus finding ways to help residents transform the shame many related to HIV/AIDS contributed nothing of value as it related to care-giving. Here, I am reminded not so much of anything that residents directly said about this at Casa Albergues, but more so of my own early experiences

coming out. When loved ones would tell me not to talk about being gay with them or in social contexts, I always felt a sense of shame, whether or not it was their intended outcome. Because of this personal experience, I, as the research instrument, was more able to be sensitive to the subtleties in communication at Casa Albergues and in what was said as well as what was not said.

In being told how to describe their community to outsiders, residents were not given any clear indication of why it mattered that they describe themselves as a "community of residents." While I would agree that there needs to be a pre-determined way to talk about Casa Albergues to the outside public, the communication of this must be set up in a way that simultaneously accounts for the fear that some residents have of being known as people who live in a place like Casa Albergues *and* does not contribute to internalized shame some may feel associated with having HIV/AIDS. "Community of residents" could be a suitable phrase to describe Casa Albergues to the outside public, but it needs to be explicitly stated as to why it is an appropriate phrase. I suggest that by doing this it could curtail the possibility for silence as communication to have its say. By this I mean that by saying nothing to explain why the phrase "community of residents" should be used, the absence of explanation could be communicating unintended things to residents. I argue that the unintended communication speaks just as forcefully at Casa Albergues as any that is intended.

I have shown a number of ways that communication impeded community within the particular group I studied. I found that communication was especially impeded by how common cultural experience framed communication around the

following: (a) homophobia, (b) a limiting cultural construction of what it means to be a man in Latino culture, and (c) shame associated with being gay, being perceived as being gay, having HIV AIDS, or being perceived as having HIV AIDS

Communication, as it was influenced by common cultural experience, functioned largely as a way to impede the construction of community and/or a sense of community. These impediments to community were made worse by the style of leadership most often used by Salvadore at the research site.

Salvadore was *the* macho at Casa Albergues. While I greatly respected his work and valued what he was trying to do at Casa Albergues, I was consistently struck by how he exemplified the patterns of communication I found most problematic at Casa Albergues for creating community and/or a sense of community. It seemed as if he thought that simply the reality that Casa Albergues was a "place" that it should be valued and appreciated. He consistently presented his view of how things should be at Casa Albergues in a manner reflective of a parent that constantly tells his or her children that if you are going to live in my house you must follow my rules. Instead of being willing to listen to the points of view of a diverse group and collectively work toward some sense of *we-ness*, Salvadore set rules that seemed to fit with his own value system and perspective of how things should be.

As I discussed, there were many instances when I saw potential for building a community and/or a sense of community at Casa Albergues. I saw this potential most clearly evidenced in those instances when residents were allowed to have or took up a greater control over what mattered to them within the context of their group. I argue that this could be one of the most important care-giving tools in this particular context

because it connects residents into their social environment. When residents bonded together and found a kind of collective agency in their desire to watch the American Cup soccer game, I found in this action a kind of *we-ness* that delineated who they were in relation to others. I suggest that the possibility for more articulations of this could further “spin the web” (Adelman & Frey, 1997) in the construction and maintenance of a sense of community. It could be argued in this case that the staff helped in the spinning of this web by denying residents something (i.e., a common area TV) to which they could collectively communicate against. This perhaps would be a plausible alternative in a different context, but in the context I studied, I found that these kinds of communicative events were too few and far between to be considered much more than an instance of collective expression. At the same time, I argue that the delicate web that loosely binds residents together at Casa Albergues could be nurtured and, in doing so, much more could be learned about the web that is spun in the construction and maintenance of community.

In conclusion, I found that the creation of a “place,” through communication, is a necessary but not sufficient quality to foster community and/or a sense of community. Communication does provide the medium by which people find, construct, and/or sustain a common meeting place. Communication media, I found, can root people into “place” and I argue that from this more solid footing people can be better prepared to contribute something of themselves in their interactions with others.

CHAPTER FIVE

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Limitations

As a qualitative study, this investigation cannot be generalized to the broader population, but it can be used as one way for gaining more in-depth understanding of how members of a particular cultural group interacted as it related to the shared commonalities of HIV/AIDS and being Latino men. This study mainly focused on a small group of Latino men, and thus I do not see it as a reflection of how other cultural groups may interact in similar social situations. I do suspect, however, that negotiations around media use could be seen in other residential care facilities, regardless of health issue or cultural group.

The richness of the data I gathered over the two and one-half year time period primarily revealed information about Latino men. As a result, I saw their story as the most important to tell/unpack in my discussions. The experience of HIV/AIDS is quite different for Latina women. Therefore, this study provides insights into one gender of a cultural group, but does not suggest much about the experiences of the other. Future research could use the commonalities of HIV/AIDS and culture with Latina women. Indeed, because the number of Latina women who are contracting HIV is growing at an alarming pace, this is an area of serious need in the literature.

Spanish is not my first language. Certainly, I am among a whole group of researchers, especially anthropologists, who have had to deal with this particular issue. The advantage I had (or some might say disadvantage) was that I had a strong conversational knowledge of the language. Thus, my language skills added to my

ability to build rapport more quickly. Simultaneously, because my Spanish was not perfect, it often caused others to have to explain things to me in greater detail. I saw this as a good opportunity to gain deeper insights by following up on things I thought I had learned but wanted to reinforce.

The issue of my language limitations required me to attend to ethical concerns I had in taking extra care to make sure that what I was learning and reporting was accurate. My multi-faceted approach to data collection and analysis shored up this concern as I confirmed and re-confirmed what I had learned and reported in this dissertation.

Van Maanen (1988) wrote: "The refusal of communities to remain motionless before and after their portraits are sketched is a problem that has continued to plague fieldworkers" (p. 39). Part of the approach I took in this study was to just "listen" and strain to hear what the case was communicating. Right at the end of my time in the field, I was hearing all this new talk about undocumented vs. documented residents. It was almost as if a hole was blast through a wall, and I suddenly could see and hear through a lot of dust and debris into the next room. A limitation then is that I simply did not have the resources to wait for this issue to become clear. Rather, I saw it as a distinct suggestion that there are new insights to be found in doing future research. I believe this area of research for future study may be going hand in hand with immigration status among Latinos in general coming out of the shadows and becoming part of what I view as a more serious social dialogue.

Future Directions

In my study at Casa Albergues, I came to see attending to communication processes as integral to the provision of good care. Sadly, I came to see this as integral because of a serious lack of attention given by the support network to improving the communication of the group under study. At Casa Albergues, here was a group who was receiving a fairly well-rounded system of social support. That is, the residents were provided with a secure safe clean place to stay, meals, an in house nurse, planned recreational activities, an alcohol and drug counselor (as needed), and transportation costs for doctor's visits.

Beyond the provision of this support, residents at Casa Albergues shared a common cultural experience that, on the surface at least, would seem to provide some measure of comfort. Perhaps on some emotional or psychological level, common cultural experience did provide comfort for different residents. What I found though was that because of the broader tensions within Latino culture regarding homophobia and what it means to be a man, it was virtually impossible to create a sense of wellness within the group. I am convinced that with attention to intervention toward improving communication especially around these issues (i.e., homophobia and what it means to be a man) real possibilities existed to establish a sense of community at Casa Albergues. I suspect that in similar facilities serving mostly Latino men living with HIV/AIDS similar issues would need to be addressed. In other words, I argue that the cultural experience of being a Latino male and the serious tensions within this community may be present across any number of situations where groups of Latino men find themselves in interaction with others who embody deep divides within

Latino culture. Further, I argue that it is simply not responsible care-giving to ignore attending to the communication of a group of people that come together under these terms.

My study leads me to two different kinds of recommendations. First, I share some pragmatic insights. Perhaps these recommendations could be useful for others to consider in their work with Latino populations living with HIV/AIDS or possibly even other health contexts involving Latino men. Following, I provide some thoughts on future directions for research.

- 1 I came to see communication as equally important as almost any other aspect of social support, particularly in a residential care facility. By this, I mean that how a group communicates with one another can affect the health status of the individual. In my case study, I found that by the care-givers not giving attention to improving the communication of the group, and in many cases contributing to problems in communication, they were contributing to the feelings of isolation and loneliness experienced by many of the residents.
- 2 Creating more intentional ways for people to connect around the media could be a valuable tool to help bring people together. Too often, I found it to be the case that residents were allowed to be in their rooms for extended periods of time. I do not presume that some didn't really like this alone time, but I argue that one thing that could possibly encourage more togetherness would be the provision of more opportunities to interact around social activities involving media. I see

this recommendation as potentially playing into what I found to be some of the commonalities within the residential group in regard to what kinds of media use and/or programming they liked. For instance, many residents in the group I studied seemed to like TV events shows such as soccer games, novelas (Spanish-speaking soap operas), and reality programs. I believe the design and implementation of activities that reinforce these taste commonalities presented opportunities for bringing the group together and bridging some of the other differences within the group. In what I learned at Casa Albergues, these shows often cut across differences in sexual orientation, age, gender, and class. I suspect that this would be similar for other Latino groups living in a shared residential facility (regardless of the circumstance(s) that brought them together).

- 3 Rules in adult care-giving facilities must account for and be appropriate for the adults who are living there. I saw some of the rules to be completely inappropriate at Casa Albergues, particularly as it related to the changing nature of how people are living with HIV/AIDS. While some people were quite sick and in my opinion in need of additional guidance to help them negotiate their own physical limits, I found overall that a strict set of rules took away whatever sense of agency some residents were attempting to have over their own lives. Instead of seeing the rules as something they should follow for their own good, residents saw them as interfering with any chance they

had at having a "normal" life. Instead of the attention being on what a person could and could not do within the confines of Casa Albergues, I argue that the focus would be better spent on helping residents manage their health crisis on terms that they participate in establishing. I recognize that this is no small task, but it is a necessary one to help a group of people who have had a great deal taken from them over the course of their lives (e.g., emotional support of family, cultural moorings, careers) due to their illness and/or sexual orientation. I argue that responsible care-giving must on some level help to give back what has been siphoned away.

Based on insights provided by this in-depth study at Casa Albergues, there are some areas I recommend for future study. First, I suggest that further exploration of gaming in healthcare contexts could shed valuable insights into those kinds of activities, which have the potential for getting groups of people to interact in meaningful ways. Second, because Latinos living with HIV/AIDS are often estranged from their families because of their health status, much more could be explored regarding Latino families and their relationships with family members who are suffering from HIV/AIDS. This area of research could be especially important as a way to gain insight into how to bridge relational gaps and/or unpack misperceptions that family members may have about the disease. Finally, I recommend a study that could gain deeper insight into the kind of training needed for care-givers working with Latinos suffering from HIV/AIDS. This is a pressing need as a growing

population of Latinos (both men and women) seek support to help them cope with their disease

EPILOGUE

I just returned from a Thanksgiving lunch at Casa Albergues. I've had a number of invitations to return to the house since I completed research activities there. Today was my first time back. A number of factors contributed to my return. A resident had called and invited me. A staff member reinforced the invitation. During the week, I had seen a resident, of whom I am quite fond, out and about in the city where he lives. He told me that he was thinking about going to Casa Albergues for lunch, he had moved out of the house shortly after I finished my time there. Mostly though, I wanted to spend Thanksgiving Day with those I had grown to care very much about.

Upon arrival, I was able to slip into the house unseen. I took that opportunity to take a look at the now completed sleeping rooms downstairs. Soon, they will be letting people move into these rooms. The new dressers and beds were ready and seemingly waiting for the new arrivals.

I couldn't help but think about how much the house had changed since I first walked through its front door. For the first time, I noticed that the old front door is now a window! As with most major changes, I am somewhat excited by what lies ahead, but I am already missing those moments that can never be quite captured again.

Now that the dust has settled on the construction, I wonder how the residents will feel about their new home. Will they find themselves caring that it is a lot further now to their old "gathering spots" (i.e., dining room and TV lounge) than it was before? Will they discover new places to gather to avoid the extra stairs? Will they

miss the game being played downstairs because they can no longer hear people playing when they come in the front door?

Downstairs, I arrived just in time for a prayer being said before the meal. The table where the prayer was being spoken was full, with seven Latino men. They all knew just what to say at the end of the prayer and simultaneously made the sign of the cross. At the other table was the lone woman remaining in the house, Carmen, and one other resident. After a bit of social awkwardness, the residents and I settled into our old relationships and began our usual joking, laughing, and catching up.

As the party was winding down, Brian came into the room. This was the resident I had seen out a few nights before. He said his enthusiastic hellos to everyone in the room and went over to the kitchen window and called out “¿Cómo está?” (How are you?) to the women working inside. For the seven of us in the room, Leo began singing a Christmas song from his youth in the Dominican Republic. Right after he finished, we all broke into the Juho Iglesias song: “Feliz Navidad, I want to Wish You a Merry Christmas.”

Afterward, Carmen was having me teach her “Jingle Bells” in Spanish. Carmen told me that her favorite Christmas song is “Oh Holy Night.” I invited her to sing it for us. She declined, claiming the flu.

A few moments later, as we all began to speak again as a group, she began to sing. I, for one, was completely floored. With a truly beautiful voice, she sang the song from beginning to end for us. She held my gaze the whole time she was singing. I was deeply moved. I think all those in the room, in their own way, were affected as well. Afterward, Carmen told us that she used to sing in a choir in Trinidad. The

way she smiled and seemed to have a sense of pride as she told us about singing in an earlier and quite different part of her life let me know that singing mattered a great deal for her

I imagine that the singing of the song allowed Carmen to express a deeply meaningful and significant part of who she is, an identity she wants to sustain, and/or an identity she wants to reclaim. In any event, I see the expression and sharing important aspects of self in a group setting as getting at the essence of what is involved in community and/or a sense of community. That is, community, as it is constructed through communication, is fostered most visibly when people bring themselves into deeper contact with others through a mutual and shared give and take between self and those in their in their environment

One Last Thing

Later that evening, I was digging through a stack of things and by chance came across a magazine article that a friend, James, had sent me a number of years ago. The article was one he had written for *Newsweek*.

I knew James from a group tour to Egypt I went on in 1996. We hit it off right away and had many wonderful moments traveling the country with a bunch of other "Queens of the Nile." One of the things we did together was ride a camel. Reflecting back on this experience, what an odd thing to do with someone I barely knew! But then again, perhaps it was better with a new friend to share the humbling hilarity of getting on and off that thing.

Shortly after returning home to Texas, James wrote the *Newsweek* article and titled it "My Life as a Dying Man." A byline to the title read "My uncertain future gave me the freedom to travel the world and, finally, buy my dream car."

As I recall, it was when I received his article that I learned of James having AIDS. In a letter, which included a copy of the article, he had sent a picture of us, indeed, riding that camel. In his article, he had highlighted the following statement: "I rode a camel and have a photo, Sphinx in background, as proof."

Last Christmas, the card I sent him was returned with a note from a loved one telling me he had died. He was the first friend I lost to the disease. To him I now say, "I too rode a camel and now have a photo, Sphinx in background, as proof." Thank you.

APPENDIX A

TABLE OF INTERVIEWS

Resident or Staff Member	Themes/Issue(s) for Discussion
Leo, Resident for 1 year, Dominican, 51, Straight	He was one of the residents who made a point of showing me his TV/Stereo system <i>Discuss</i> More on what matters for him in his room, what kinds of things he watches/listens to on TV and stereo. Ask him to describe a typical day for him in CA. Ask him to go into the kind of care he sees himself as receiving at CA.
Brian, Resident for 8 months, African American, 37, Gay	He invited me into his room to see some of artwork of a female superhero character he had created and he ended up showing me a large collection of media materials that included comic books, videos and DVD's of superhero type shows (<i>Superfriends</i> , <i>Dyna Woman/Electra Girl</i> , <i>Wonder Woman</i> , <i>The Bionic Woman</i> , <i>Isis</i>), posters, and children's books (Af Am Themed) <i>Discuss</i> Media usage in everyday life. Why, even though he is very sick, he wants to leave CA.
Carlito, Resident for over 3 years, Mexican, 34, Straight	Carlito is one of the most involved residents in the activities of the house. He is often found to be recording social events and activities with his video camera. <i>Discuss</i> Why being involved matters for him. Talk about his history and what brought him to CA. Discuss how he perceives the support he receives. Discuss his relationship to the other Mexican men in the house. Discuss his use of the video camera during house activities.
Angel, Resident for 8 months, Mexican, 24, Gay	Angel is often caught "breaking the rules" both literally and figuratively by wearing women's clothing in the house. <i>Discuss</i> What about wearing women's clothing matters. Talk about his history and what brought him to CA. Discuss how he perceives the support he receives. Discuss his relationship to the other Mexican men in the house.

Silvio, Resident for 1 year, Mexican, 36, Not sure of sexual orientation, although some have suggested to me that he is gay	<p>Silvio seems to spend a lot of time in his room. One time when he invited me into his room, I was struck by how he carefully organized his things.</p> <p><i>Discuss</i> Why he seems to spend more time in his room than in the common spaces. Talk about his history and what brought him to CA. Discuss how he perceives the support he receives. Discuss his relationship to the other Mexican men in the house.</p>
Israel, New resident, Venezuelan, 50, gay	<p><i>Discuss</i> What it is like for him being new to CA and how he learned about CA.</p>
Rodrigo, New resident, Columbian, 52, gay	<p><i>Discuss</i> What it is like for him being new to CA and how he learned about CA.</p>
Rafael, Resident off and on for over 5 years, American of Puerto Rican heritage, 56, gay	<p>Rafael seems to have a complex relationship with CA. I believe he stopped taking his medications at one point and this greatly affected his emotional state (especially as it related to dementia setting in more quickly). As I understand it, it was because of this that he was forced out of CA for a time into a different kind of care facility. Currently, he is waiting for a room and is sleeping on a couch in the hallway of the second floor. He doesn't seem to mind. He seems to just be happy to be back in the house. I think he may really like to be around others and has expressed this to me on a number of occasions.</p> <p><i>Discuss</i> The kind of support he receives and/or perceives himself as receiving at CA. Talk about changes in CA he has seen evidenced over his time at CA.</p>
Salvadore, Executive Director	<p><i>Discuss</i> What he sees as the mission of CA. What are the different funding sources for CA. How he thinks of the people living at CA (e.g., as a group, a community, tenants, etc.). What he considers are the major changes in CA over the years he has been the Director (7-8 years). Discuss what he sees for the future of CA. How he describes CA.</p>
Carlotta, Nurse	<p><i>Discuss</i> Her responsibilities and role in CA. How she describes CA.</p>

Alex, Volunteer Coordinator	<i>Discuss</i> His role and what he does for CA. I am particularly interested in discussions of how he works with, recruits new, and perhaps trains volunteers. I also would like to learn more about his role in working with the Recreation Coordinator in creating the first edition of the house newsletter. How he describes CA.
Teresa, Supervisor	<i>Discuss</i> Her responsibilities and role in CA. Discuss how she came to be in that role. How she describes CA.
Maria, House Staff	<i>Discuss</i> Her role in CA. How she came to in that role. How she describes CA.
Flora, House Staff	<i>Discuss</i> Her role in CA. How she came to in that role. How she describes CA.
Frederico, Office Manager	<i>Discuss</i> His responsibilities and role at CA. How he came to be in that role. What he sees as future directions for the house. How he describes CA.
Susanna, Activities Coordinator, (she began work in March of 2004)	<i>Discuss</i> What it has been like for her coming into this position and her overall impressions of her work and interactions with the residents.

APPENDIX B

BASELINE QUESTIONS

- 1 How did you come to be at Casa Albergues (either as a resident or staff)?
- 2 Is there a word or words that you think describe Casa Albergues?
- 3 How would you describe your relationships with others in Casa Albergues, both residents and staff?
- 4 In what ways do you think communication plays a role at Casa Albergues?
- 5 Is communication important for community and/or to have a sense of community?

For staff, I asked an additional baseline question of

- 1 Could you please describe what you do in regard to your responsibilities at Casa Albergues?

APPENDIX C

ENGLISH and SPANISH CONSENT FORMS for AUDIO-TAPING

You are aware that I will be audio-taping this interview session. The interview session should last for no more than 30 minutes. At anytime, you may ask me to stop recording during the interview session. If you do not want to be recorded, for whatever reason, you can still participate in the study. The purpose of audio-taping this session is to provide additional materials for my analysis and to help with my memory. All materials will remain strictly confidential. I may publicly show the written interview transcript in my reporting of the data. If this is the case, your name will in no way be attached to the transcript and I will make sure to exclude any other identifying information (e.g., exact place of birth or birth date).

Sign below if you agree to be recorded in this research study. You will be given a copy of this form to keep. If you have concerns or problems with any aspect of the study, you may contact me at: X#.

Subject's signature _____ Date _____

Investigator's signature _____ Date _____

Está conciente de que voy a realizar esta sesión audio de entrevista. La sesión de entrevista no debe durar mas de 30 minutos. En cualquier momento, me puede pedir que no continúo con la grabación de la sesión de entrevista. Si, por cualquier razón, no quiere ser grabado, todavía puede continuar participando en el estudio. El propósito de la grabación de la sesión de entrevista es para proveerme con más material para mi análisis, y para ayudarme con mi memoria. Todos los materiales van a permanecer en absoluta confianza. Es posible que voy a demostrar la transcripción escrita de la entrevista al público en mi presentación de los datos. Si éste es el caso, su nombre no va a ser juntado a la transcripción, y se asegurare de excluir cualquier otra información de su identidad (cumpleaños, lugar del nacimiento, etc).

Firma abajo si me permite grabarse en este estudio. Va a recibir una copia de este formulario. Si tengas preocupaciones o problemas con algún aspecto de este estudio, puedes contactarme por telefono. X#

Firma del entrevistado _____ Fecha _____

Firma del investigador _____ Fecha _____

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adelman, M. B., & Frey, L. R. (1997). *The fragile community, Living together with AIDS*. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Adelman, M. B., & Frey, L. R. (1994). The pilgrim must embark: Creating and sustaining community in a residential facility for people with AIDS. In L. R. Frey (Ed.), *Group communication in context: Studies in natural groups* (pp. 3-22). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Agar, M. H. (1986). *Speaking of ethnography*. London: Sage Publications.
- Alasuutari, P. (1995). *Researching culture: Qualitative method and qualitative studies*. London: Sage Publications.
- Alasuutari, P. (Ed.) (1999). *Rethinking the media audience*. London: Sage Publications.
- Albrecht, T. L., & Adelman, M. B. (1987). *Communicating social support*. London: Sage Publications.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities*. New York: Verso.
- Anonymous. (2004). Addressing HIV/AIDS Latino perspectives and policy recommendations. *SIECUS Report*, 32(1), 8-11.
- Arnett, R. C., & Arneson, P. (1999). *Dialogic civility in a cynical age: Community, hope, and interpersonal relationships*. New York: The State University of New York Press.

- Barnes, M. K., & Duck, S. (1994). Everyday communication contexts for social support. In B. R. Burleson, T. L. Albrecht, & I. G. Sarason (Eds.), *Communication of social support: Messages, Interactions, Relationships, and community* (pp. 175-194). London: Sage Publications.
- Barnlund, D. C. (1970). A transactional model of communication. In K. K. Sereno, & C. D. Mortensen (Eds.), *Foundations of communication theory* (pp. 83-102). New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Bateson, G. (1963). Exchange of information about patterns of human behavior. In W. S. Fields, & W. Abbott (Eds.), *Information storage and neural control* (pp. 173-186). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher.
- Bauman, R., & Sherzer, J. (1975). The ethnography of speaking. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 4, 95-119.
- Becker, H. S., & McCall, M. M. (Eds.) (1990). *Symbolic interaction and cultural studies*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bell, C., & Newby, H. (1972). *Community studies: An introduction to the sociology of the local community*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Bender, I. (1978). *Community and social change in America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Berger, P. L. (1967). *The sacred canopy: Elements of sociological theory of religion*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books Doubleday & Company, Inc.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Anchor Books Doubleday.

- Bird, S. E. (2003). *The audience in everyday life: Living in a media world*. New York: Routledge.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Englewood Cliffs, NY: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Bonvillian, N. (2000). *Language, culture, and communication: The meaning of messages* (3rd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Braithwaite, C. A. (1997). 'Were you there?' A ritual of legitimacy among Vietnam veterans. *Western Journal of Communication*, 61(4), 423-448.
- Braithwaite, D. O., Waldron, V. R., & Finn, J. (1999). Communication of social support in computer-mediated groups for people with disabilities. *Health Communication*, 11(2), 123-151.
- Brandt, A. M. (1988). AIDS: From social history to social policy. In E. Fee, & D. M. Fox (Eds.), *AIDS: The burdens of history* (pp. 147-171). Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Brashers, D. E., Neidig, J. L., Cardillo, L. W., Dobbs, L. K., Russell, J. A., & Haas, S. M. (1999). 'In an important way, I did die': Uncertainty and revival in persons living with HIV or AIDS. *AIDS Care*, 11(2), 201-219.
- Bresnahan, M. J., & Murray-Johnson, L. (2002). The healing web. *Health Care for Women International*, 23, 398-407.
- Brggs, C. L. (1986). *Learning how to ask: A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science research*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Briggs, C. L. (2000). Emergence of the non-indigenous peoples: A Warao narrative. In K. Sammons, & J. Sherzer (Eds.), *Translating native Latin American verbal art: Ethnopoetics and ethnography of speaking* (pp. 174-196). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Carbaugh, D. (1988). *Talking American: Cultural discourses on Donahue*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Carbaugh, D. (1996). *Situating selves: The communication of social identities in American scenes*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Carbaugh, D. (1999). "Just listen": "Listening" and landscape among the Blackfeet. *Western Journal of Communication*, 63(3), 250-270.
- Carbaugh, D., & Hastings, S. O. (1992). A role for communication theory in ethnography and analysis. *Communication Theory*, 2, 156-165.
- Carey, J. (1989). *Communication as culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Carrier, J. (1995). *De los otros: Intimacy and homosexuality among Mexican men*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Chekki, D. A., Cahill, S. E., & Lofland, L. H. (Eds.) (1994). *Research in community sociology*. London: Jai Press, Inc.
- Clair, R. P. (2003). The changing story of ethnography. In R. P. Clair (Ed.), *Expressions of ethnography: Novel approaches to qualitative methods* (pp. 3-26). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Cohen, A. P. (1985). *The symbolic construction of community*. New York: Tavistock Publications.

- Cs.kszentmihályi, M., & Rochberg-Halton, E. (1981) *The meaning of things Domestic symbols and the self* New York: Cambridge University Press
- Denzin, N. K. (1970) *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods* Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company
- Denzin, N. K. (1989) *Interpretive interactionism* London: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, N. K. (1997) *Interpretive ethnography: Ethnographic practices for the 21st century* London: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.) (2000) *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Dewey, J. (1916) *Democracy and education* New York: The MacMillan Company
- Dewey, J. (1929) *Experience and nature*. La Salle, IL: Open Court
- Díaz, R. M. (1998) *Latino gay men and HIV: Culture, sexuality, and risk behavior* New York: Routledge
- Drotner, K. (2000). Less is more: Media ethnography and its limits. In I. Hagen, & J. Wasko (Eds.), *Consuming audiences? Production and reception in media research* (pp. 165-188). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, Inc.
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (1995) *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Evans, A. D., & Falk, W. W. (1986) *Learning to be deaf* New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Falkin, G. P., & Strauss, S. M. (2000). Drug-using women's communication with social supporters about HIV/AIDS issues. *Journal of Drug Issues*, 30(4), 801-822.
- Fiske, J. (1993). *Power plays power works*. New York: Verso.
- Fitch, K. L. (1998). Text and context: A problematic distinction for ethnography. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 31(1), 91-107.
- Fitch, K. L. (2003). Taken-for-granted(s) in (an) intercultural communication. In P. J. Glenn, C. D. LeBaron, & J. Mandelbaum (Eds.), *Studies in language and social interaction* (pp. 91-102). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Gergen, K. J. (1991). *The saturated self: Dilemmas of identity in contemporary life*. Basic Books.
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behavior*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books Doubleday & Company, Inc.
- Gordon, S. L. (1981). The sociology of sentiments and emotion. In M. Rosenberg, & R. H. Turner (Eds.), *Social psychology: Sociological perspectives* (pp. 562-592). New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. Basic Books.

- Greene, K., & Serovich, J. M. (1998). An eye to the future of HIV/AIDS and social relationships: An epilogue. In V. J. Derlega, & A. P. Barbee (Eds.), *Men & social interaction* (pp. 218-238). London: Sage Publications.
- Gumperz, J. J., & Hymes, D. (Eds.) (1972). *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Gutmann, M. C. (1996). *The meaning of macho: Being a man in Mexico City*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1983). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. New York: Tavistock Publications.
- Harford, J. (1998, August 24). Life as a dying man. *Newsweek*, 10.
- Hays, R. B., Catania, J. A., McKusick, L., & Coates, T. J. (1990). Help-seeking for AIDS-Related concerns: A comparison of gay men with various HIV diagnoses. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 18(5), 743-755.
- Hymes, D. (1964). Introduction: Toward ethnographies of communication. *American Anthropologist Special Publication*, 66(6), 1-34.
- Hymes, D. (1972). Models of the interaction of language and social life. In J. J. Gumperz, & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication* (pp. 35-71). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Jackson, J (1974) Language identity of the Columbian Vaupes Indians. In R Bauman, & J Sherzer (Eds), *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking* (pp 50-64). London: Cambridge University Press.
- Katriel, T (1986) *Talking straight: Dugri speech in Israeli Sabra culture*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Katz, D , & Kahn, R. L. (1973) Communication: The flow of information. In C D Mortensen (Ed.), *Basic readings in communication theory* (pp 175-182). New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Keating, E (2001). The ethnography of communication. In P Atkinson, A Coffey, S Delamont, J Lofland, & L. Lofland (Eds), *Handbook of ethnography* (pp 285-301). London: Sage Publications.
- Kemmis, S , & McTaggart, R. Participatory action research. In N K Denzin, & Y S Lincoln (Eds), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed) (pp 567-605). London: Sage Publications.
- Kranzler, G (1995) The economic revitalization of the Hasidic community of Williamsburg. In J S Belcove-Shalin (Ed.), *New world Hasidim: Ethnographic studies of Hasidic Jews in America* (pp. 181-204). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Kubey, R , & Csikszentmihalyi, M (1990) *Television and the quality of life: How viewing shapes everyday experience*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Kulick, D (1998) *Travesti: Sex, Gender and culture among Brazilian transgendered prostitutes*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Kylmä, J., Vehviläinen-Julkunen, K., & Lahdevirta, J. (2001). Hope, despair and hopelessness in living with HIV/AIDS: A grounded theory study. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 33(6), 764-776.
- Leary, M. R., & Schreindorfer, L. S. (1998). The stigmatization of HIV and AIDS. In V. J. Derlega, & A. P. Barbee (Eds.), *HIV & social interaction* (pp. 12-29). London: Sage Publications.
- LeBaron, D., Mandelbaum, J., & Glenn, P. J. (2003). An overview of language and social interaction research. In P. J. Glenn, C. D. LeBaron, & J. Mandelbaum (Eds.), *Studies in language and social interaction* (pp. 1-44). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Lederman, L. C. (1996). *Asking questions and listening to answers: A guide to using individual, focus group, and debriefing interviews*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.
- Lederman, L. C. (1996). Internal muzak: An exploration of intrapersonal communication. *Information and Behavior*, 5, 197-214.
- Lederman, L. C., Lederman, J. B., & Kully, R. D. (2004). Believing is seeing: The co-construction of everyday myths in the media about college drinking. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 48(1), 130-136.
- Leeds-Hurwitz, W. (1990). Culture and communication: A review essay. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 9, 85-94.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

- Lofland, J. & Lofland, L. H. (1995) *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis* (3rd ed.). New York: Wadsworth Publishing Company
- Marín, G., & Marín, B. V. (1991) *Research with Hispanic populations*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications
- Martin, I. (2000) Parallelism and the spontaneous ritualization of ordinary talk: Three Mocho friends discuss a volcano. In K. Sammons, & J. Sherzer (Eds.), *Translating native Latin American verbal art: Ethnopoetics and ethnography of speaking* (pp. 104-124). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Mason, T., Carlisle, C., Watkins, C., & Whitehead, E. (2001) Introduction. In T. Mason, C. Carlisle, C. Watkins, & E. Whitehead (Eds.), *Stigma and social exclusion in healthcare* (pp. 1-13). New York: Routledge.
- Mattern, M. (1998) *Acting in concert: Music, community, and political action*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Maxwell, J. A. (1996) *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. London: Sage Publications.
- Mead, G. H. (1934) *Mind, self, and society*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Meijers, D. (1986) *Hasidic groups and other religious collectivities in orthodox Judaism*. Amsterdam: Free University Press.
- Meyrowitz, J. (1985) *No sense of place: The impact of electronic media on social behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984) *Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods*. London: Sage Publications.

- Mokros, H. B. (2003). Other matters: The achievement of identity through otherness. In H. B. Mokros (Ed.), *Identity matters: Communication-based explorations and explanations* (pp. 239-267). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, Inc.
- Mokros, H., & Deetz, S. (1996). What counts as real? A constitutive view of communication and the disenfranchised in the context of health. In E. B. Ray (Ed.), *Communication and disenfranchisement: Social health issues and implications* (pp. 29-44). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Mortensen, C. D. (1972). *Communication: The study of human interaction*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Myerhoff, B. G. (1978). *Number our days*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Myerhoff, B. G. (1982). Life history among the elderly: Performance, visibility, and re-membering. In J. Ruby (Ed.), *A crack in the mirror: Reflexive perspectives in anthropology* (pp. 99-117). Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Poll, S. (1962). *The Hasidic community of Williamsburg*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc.
- Preston, D. B., D'Aquila, A. R., Kassab, C. D., Cain, R. E., Schulze, F. W., & Starks, M. T. (2004). The influence of stigma on the sexual risk behavior of rural men who have sex with men. *AIDS Education and Prevention*, 16(4), 291-303.

- Prieur, A. (1998) *Mama's house, Mexico City: On transvestites, Queens, and machos*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Prus, R. (1996) *Symbolic interaction and ethnographic research: Intersubjectivity and the study of human lived experience*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Raffaelli, M., & Suarez-Al-Adam, M. (1998) Reconsidering the HIV/AIDS prevention needs of Latino women in the United States. In N. L. Roth, & L. K. Fuller (Eds.), *Women and AIDS: Negotiating safer practices, care, and representation* (pp. 7-41). New York: The Haworth Press.
- Radway, J. (1984) *Reading the romance, Women, Patriarchy, and popular literature*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Rakow, L. (1992). *Gender on the line: Women, the telephone, and community life*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Riggs, K. E. (1998) *Mature audiences: Television in the lives of elders*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Rock, P. (2001) Symbolic interactionism and ethnography. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland, & L. Lofland (Eds.), *Handbook of ethnography* (pp. 26-38). London: Sage Publications.
- Saville-Troike, M. (1989) *The ethnography of communication: An introduction* (2nd ed.). New York: Basil Blackwell, Inc.
- Schwandt, T. R. (1990) Paths to inquiry in the social disciplines: Scientific, constructivist, and critical theory methodologies. In E. G. Guba (Ed.), *The paradigm dialog* (pp. 258-276). London: Sage Publications.

- Scollon, R. & Wong-Scollon, S. (1990) Athabaskan-English interethnic communication. In D. Carbaugh (Ed.), *Cultural communication and intercultural contact* (pp. 259-286). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Skeggs, B. (2001) Feminist ethnography. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland, & L. Lofland (Eds.), *Handbook of ethnography* (pp. 426-442). London: Sage Publications.
- Sontag, S. (1989) *Illness as metaphor and AIDS and its metaphors*. New York: Anchor Books Doubleday.
- Spradley, J. P. (1979) *The ethnographic interview*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.
- Spradley, J. P. (1980) *Participant observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Stake, R. E. (1998) Case studies. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry*, (pp. 86-109). London: Sage Publications.
- Stake, R. E. (2000) Case studies. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.) (pp. 435-454). London: Sage Publications.
- Steiner, L. (1983). Finding community in nineteenth century suffrage periodicals. *American Journalism*, 1(1), 1-15.
- Strauss, A. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge Press.

- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory, procedures and techniques*. London: Sage Publications.
- Thomas, R. W., & Seibold, D. R. (1996). Communicating with alcoholics: A strategic influence approach to personal intervention. In E. B. Ray (Ed.), *Communication and disenfranchisement: Social health issues and implications* (pp. 405-432). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Tönnies, F. (1957). *Community and society* (C. P. Loomis, Trans./Ed.). East Lansing, MI: The Michigan State University Press.
- Van Maanen, J. (1988). *Tales of the field: On writing ethnography*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Whitman, W. (2000). *Leaves of grass*. A Signet Classic.
- Wilmot, W. W. (1975). *Dyadic communication: A transactional perspective*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Wright, K. (2002). Social support within an on-line cancer community: An assessment of emotional support, perceptions of advantages and disadvantages, and motives for using the community from a communicative perspective. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 30(3), 195-209.

- Yep, G. A., Reece, S. T., & Negrón, E. L. (2003). Culture and stigma in a bona fide group: Boundaries and context in a "closed support group for "Asian Americans" living with HIV infection. In L. R. Frey (Ed.), *Group communication in context: Studies of bona fide groups* (pp. 157-180). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Curriculum Vita
BRAD CROWNOVER

Educational Background

Doctor of Philosophy, Rutgers University, 2005

Master of Science in College Student Personnel, Western Illinois University, 1994

Bachelor of Science in Communication, Ohio University, 1991

Teaching Experience at Rutgers University, Fall 2000 – Spring 2004

Seniors: Leadership in Groups and Organizations
 Communication and Learning
 Communication and Popular Music
 Juniors: Message Design for Public Relations and Organizational
 Communication
 Approaches to Leadership
 Sophomores: Fundamentals of Speaking and Listening
 First-Year: Building Community through Leadership and Understanding

**Teaching Experience at The New School University, Graduate Level, Fall 2003-
 Fall 2004**

Small Media in Developing Countries: Impacts on Health Issues, Democracy, &
 Human Rights
 Research Methods in Media Studies

**Teaching Experience at Alliant International University, Mexico City, Summer
 2002 & 2003**

U.S. Culture Through the Humanities
 Composition II
 Business Communication and Writing
 Communication, Popular Music, and Artistic Expression

Professional Experience

Director of Student Activities and Orientation Programs, Pratt Institute, 9/95-5/99

Acting Director of Student Activities and the Activities Center, North Central
 College, 8/94-8/95


Assistant Director of Student Activities and the Activities Center, North Central
 College, 8/93-8/94

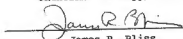
TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP, PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL CULTURE,
AND PERCEIVED EFFECTIVENESS IN SPECIALIZED PROGRAMS
FOR STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

BY BARBARA KRISTOFF

A dissertation submitted to
The Graduate School of Education
Rutgers-The State University of New Jersey,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Doctor of Education
Educational Administration and Supervision
in Education

Approved by


Catherine A. Eugg, Chair


James R. Bliss


Jan S. Handleman

New Brunswick, New Jersey

May, 2003

UMI Number: 3088477

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3088477

Copyright 2003 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346